

PREFACE.

THE translation of the Bhagavadgītā which appears in this volume was originally undertaken merely as an exercise in versification, without any view to its ever being published. After considerable portions of it had been prepared in this way, it occurred to me, that it might be useful to print and publish it, as there had been no rendering of the Gītā into English verse. I thought that a metrical translation would be, in sundry respects, a better representative of the Sanskrit original than a translation into prose, even though the latter might in its own class be entitled to a higher rank than the former in its class. Under this view I finished the translation, and submitted it for revision to my very able friend Mr. Ābāji Vishnu Kāthavate. He did the work of revision with a fulness and patience for which I cannot sufficiently thank him. Most of his corrections and suggestions—indeed, I may say, all except, perhaps, four or five—have been after consideration adopted by me. And I would add, that although the responsibility for all the errors in this work must undoubtedly be mine, a great deal of such value as the translation may be found to possess, whether in respect of accuracy of rendering or otherwise, is due to Mr. Kāthavate's labours.

One point there is as to which I have not acted upon my friend's suggestion, though I have felt, and still feel, considerable diffidence as to the propriety of the course which I have pursued. Mr. Kāthavate thinks, that our native mode of pronouncing names ending in 'a' as if they ended in a consonant is quite incorrect and ought not to be stereotyped. I fully appreciate the force of this. Nevertheless I find it very difficult to reconcile myself to the outlandish pronunciation which results if the suggestion is adopted. In my difficulty as to how to proceed, I turned to the excellent metrical translation of the Rāmāyan by Mr. R. T. H. Griffiths. But there I found on one and the same page two such lines as the following :—

"The As'vamedh was finished quite"

And "And Das'aratha ere they went." (Vol. I. p. 97.)

Nay we have even such lines as these :—

"Rāma and Lakshman next obtained" (I. 129)

And "Yea, Rāma Bharat's self exceeds." (I. 378.)

Similarly in Mr. Muir's metrical translations at the close of the Second Volume of his Sanskrit Texts, we read :—

"I know thee Rāvan who thou art."

and a few lines further on,

"And won great Rāma for her lord."

Obviously, both Mr. Muir and Mr. Griffiths have scanned the names as the exigencies of the verse required in each particular case.

I have taken a somewhat different course. The following lines will exemplify the principles I have adopted :—

(I.) The prince Duryodhan to his teacher went.

(II.) And Dhṛiṣṭadyumna, Saubhadra of large arms,

(III.) Who meditates on Brahma in the act.

It will be seen that where the consonant preceding the 'a' is a simple consonant (I.), the 'a' is treated as having no value for purposes of scansion and is omitted in the spelling. Where it is preceded by a conjunct consonant (II. and III.), the 'a' is pronounced in all cases, except a few in which the following word begins with a vowel, and the 'a' coalesces with that vowel in scansion. As remarked already, this is not quite a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, but I think it is a convenient one, and is based, at all events, on a uniform principle.

It may be useful to add, that the whole poem is in the form of a dialogue between Sanjaya and Dhṛitarāṣṭra; and the speeches of Kṛishna and Arjun are merely reported by the former to the latter. The prefixing of the names of Kṛishna and Arjun does to a certain extent disguise this fact, and to some of the speeches in the first two chapters the names have by mistake not been prefixed, though one might expect them there according to the rule followed in the subsequent chapters. But I do not think that there will be any misunderstanding in practice caused by these circumstances.

In my translation I have nearly always followed the interpretations of the commentators, S'ankar, S'rīdhara, and Madhusūdan. Wherever the text seemed to me to require explanation, I have given it in footnotes. Additional explanation, where it seemed to me on further consideration to be necessary, has been added in the Notes and Illustrations, in preparing which I had the advantage of consulting a commentary by Rāghavendra Yati—a writer of a different school from S'ankar and the rest. I have to thank my friend Mr. Vyākaṣṭh Bānchandra of Puna for his kindness in lending me his

copy of that commentary. I can, of course, scarcely expect that there are no material deficiencies in the notes, but I have endeavoured to give as full explanations as I thought necessary. I am sorry that by an oversight some explanations which ought to have appeared in footnotes were not given there; but I have added them now in the Notes and Illustrations.

With regard to the Introduction I may state, that the nucleus of it was a paper read by me before the Students' Literary and Scientific Society in December 1873. But the expansions and additions have been so considerable that it may be said to be an altogether new essay. As to the questions discussed in it concerning the first introduction of Christianity into India, and the translations of the New Testament in the first centuries of the Christian Era, and kindred matters, I need scarcely say, that not having bestowed any special study on them except for the purposes of this essay, I should have been glad to avoid the discussion of them. But this I could not do, as they furnish a very important link in the chain of reasoning by which Dr. Lorinser supports his theory. "Supernatural Religion" and "Literature and Dogma" have evoked very considerable discussion of important points connected with the early history of Christianity and of the New Testament, and I have availed myself of some of the points made in that discussion. But my treatment of the subject is avowedly very far from full. It seems to me to be enough for my argument, if it can be shown—and this I think will not be denied—that there is a real and *bona fide* difference of opinion among persons qualified to judge in the matter, as to some of the points which Dr. Lorinser takes for granted. This fact, coupled with the circumstance noted at the top of p. xxiv. of the essay, appears to me to fortify the position I have taken up, nearly as much as a complete study of the whole discussion on the age and authenticity of the Gospels could have enabled me to fortify it.

As the sheets were passing through the press, some discussion was going on in the literary world concerning various points connected with the early history of Christianity, parts of which have a bearing upon the subject discussed by me. But I can only give a general reference to it, as I was not able to study it sufficiently to consider the points of contact between that discussion on the one hand and this essay on the other. There is also a paper by Dr. Muir in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. IV. p. 77, the conclusion of which seems, at least in some measure, to coincide with ours, which we may express in the following words of Dr. Strauss:—
 "However high may be the place of Jesus among those who have

shown to mankind most purely and most plainly what it ought to be, still he was not the first to do so nor will he be the last. But as he had predecessors in Israel and Hellas, on the Ganges and the Oxus, so also he has not been without followers," (Life of Jesus. Vol. II. 437).

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- P. IV, line 26. Add note 'But see p. xciv. *infra*.'
- P. V, last line. For 'I' read 'we.'
- P. XXI, l. 26. After 298 add 377.
- P. XXIV, l. 30. Add 'also that cited at p. lxiiv. *infra*.'
- P. XXX, l. 14. Add note 'See Maghadat St. 15.'
- P. XLV, l. 22. Delete the words 'are something which.'
- P. LIV, l. 6. For 'not 'not sweet to do' read *not* 'sweet to do' and in l. 11. after 'next' insert 'passage.'
- P. LVII, l. 15. For 'believe' read 'maintain.'
- P. LXXV, l. 82. Add 'also Thomson's Gîtâ, Introd. p. xxvi.
- P. LXXVI, l. 24. Add after 236 'XII. 5 & seq.' And in l. 26 'Also Lalit Vistar 159 and Müller's *Enc. Sans. Lit.* 517.'
- P. LXXIX, l. 24. After 'Tyndall's' insert a comma.
- P. LXXXII, l. 28. Add 'Vol. IV. 125 and Ind. Ant. Vol. IV, 81.'
- P. LXXXVIII, l. 1. On 'veneration' add note 'See Kâdambari p. 127. (Thân. Ed.) and other passages.'
- P. LXXXIX, l. 16. On 'S'abar Svâmi' add note 'See Colebrooke Essays I. 297-8.'
- P. OVII, l. 7. For 'allowable in the Classical Literature' read 'allowed by the strict rules of grammar.'
- P. CXVI, l. 6. For 'Manu and the Gîtâ' read 'the Gîtâ and Manu.'
- P. CXVIII, l. 4. For 'set' read 'put'.
- P. 4 l. 12. For 'my kin, Oh Krishna' read 'my kinsmen. Krishna'!
- P. 5 „ 4. For 'treachery' read 'injury.'
- P. 6 „ 15. For 'wise' read 'good.'
- P. 8 „ 18. After 22 add '(line 708.)'
- P. 7 „ 27. For 'distinguish' read 'interpret accurately.'
- P. 12 „ 22. After 53 add (line 300); in l. 29 after 21 add (lines 1035 and 1171).
- P. 13 „ 16. Add 'See Mann I. 26.'
- P. 15 „ 31. Add 'Comp. line 1639.'
- P. 16 „ 22. Add 'see Wilson's Essays Vol. III. p. 130 and note.'
- P. 17 „ 33. After 27 add (line 450).
- P. 18 „ 27. Add see line 2010.
- P. 19 „ 22. Add after 60 (line 2299).
- P. 21 „ 16. Add 'Compare Haug's Aitareya Brâhman Pref. p. 4 note.'

- P. 22 l. 30. Add after 9 (line 661 *et seq.*)
- P. 24 „ 23. After nature, add 'is'.
- P. 28 „ 19. Add after 13 '(line 539)'; in l. 20 after 14 '(lines 540-42)'; in l. 23 after 62 '(line 329)'; and in l. 29 after 24 '(lines 749 and 820).'
- P. 29 „ 27. After 9 add (line 396).
- P. 31 „ 12. For 'thus' read 'this.'
- P. 32 „ 27. Add 'See line 659,'; last line, for 13 read '45 (line 271).'
- P. 33 „ 28. For '2 *et seq.*' read '3 *et seq.* (line 2116).'
- P. 34 „ 7. For 'touched' read 'stained.' On l. 17 add note 'S'vetâ-s'vatar III. 18' and in line 32 after 30 add (line 461).
- P. 35 „ 20. For 'and Madhusûdan say' read 'says.' In l. 23 before प्रकृति add अविद्यालयम्.
- P. 37 „ 23. For 1037 read 1035.
- P. 38 „ 29. After 770 add 'and line 369.'
- P. 41 „ 7. After 'which' insert 'too.'
- P. 42. The notes * and † should interchange places.
- P. 45 „ 11. For 'some alone' read 'only some.'
- P. 48 „ 20. For 1860 read 1866.
- P. 49 „ 38. For 1671 read 1675 and for 1623, in l. 34, 1627.
- P. 53 „ 21. For 2075 read 2081.
- P. 54 „ 27. Add 'and Manu I. 53'; in l. 31 for 1870 read 1876.
- P. 58 „ 33. After 'deluding' add 'But see Kîrât. XIV. 19.'
- P. 61 „ 25. For 1978 read 1986.
- P. 65 „ 24. For 2320 read 2307.
- P. 68 „ 20. For 'St. 33 S'ankar' read 'St. 33 (line 1330) S'ridhar.'
- P. 70 „ 28. Add 'comp. S'ankar's note at foot of page 116.'
- P. 72 „ 3. For 'with the' read 'His.'
- P. 74 „ 16. For 'first' read 'chief.'
- P. 88 „ 4. For 'reach' read 'reached.'
- P. 95 „ 31. For 2322 read 2305.
- P. 96 „ 26. For 2324 read 2307.
- P. 117 „ 20. For Uhhândogyopaniṣad read S'vetâ-s'vataropaniṣad.

Some minor errata, and some errors of punctuation &c., have been omitted from the above list.

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

It is proposed in the present essay to review the question of the originality and antiquity of the Bhagavadgītā. We have here considered that question mainly with reference to the theory advanced by Dr. F. Lorinser in the Appendix to his "*Die Bhagavadgītā*," which has been translated into English for the *Indian Antiquary*. It appears to us, however, that the investigation of the question, if confined within the limits marked out in Dr. Lorinser's Appendix, will be altogether imperfect. And accordingly we shall endeavour in the present essay not only to discuss the points taken by Dr. Lorinser, but also other points, which are very material in this investigation, but which have not received due, or indeed any, consideration at Dr. Lorinser's hands.

And first, it will be convenient to state in the form of distinct propositions those conclusions of Dr. Lorinser's inquiry, with which we are here primarily concerned. As far as practicable, I use Dr. Lorinser's own words, as they appear in an English dress in the *Indian Antiquary*. His propositions, then, are these :—

- I. On the one hand it is certain that the Bhagavadgītā dates after Buddha.*
- II. On the other hand its composition must be attributed to a period terminating several centuries after the commencement of the Christian Era.†
- III. It can be sufficiently proved that the composer of the Bhagavadgītā knew and used the New Testament.‡

* *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II. 283a.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid* 284a.

IV. The date after which the Gītā could not have been composed must be left an open question till, we are certain when Ś'ankarāchārya lived.*

Such are the propositions to which Dr. Lorinser's theory about the Gītā may be reduced. We shall now address ourselves to the consideration of them in their order.

And first, as to the Bhagavadgītā dating after Buddha. On this point, Dr. Lorinser feels no hesitation in using so strong a word as "certain." But although I may once more expose myself to the charge of not being "sufficiently acquainted" with what is dignified with the appellation of "the present state of scientific research" on this point, I must humbly inquire—How has this been rendered "certain"? Where has it been proved? And by whom has it been proved? Dr. Lorinser himself has shown no grounds for his position. He has not thought fit even to follow the ordinary practice of giving in a note the references to the authorities on which he relies. Speaking for myself, I confess, I am quite unprepared to accept this proposition of Dr. Lorinser as "certain," and the mere *ipse dixit* of Dr. Lorinser, or for the matter of that, of any one else, will not be enough to convince me of it. The only argument upon the point, which I am aware of, is one to be derived from a statement contained in Professor H. H. Wilson's Review of Schlegel's edition of the Bhagavadgītā. Commenting on Gītā XVI. 7, the Professor observes as follows:—"It is clear from the subsequent passage that the Bauddhas are especially intended as the beings of the demoniacal order."† Now it need scarcely be said that if this were correct, it would be conclusive. But it is not correct. For mark what follows.

* *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II. 283a.

† *Essays on Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. III. 150.

'S'ankara,' Professor Wilson goes on to say, "states them to be the members of the Lokāyatika sect, which was a division of the Bauddhas." Now remarking parenthetically, that not only S'ankar, but also Madhusūdan Sarasvati and S'ridhar Svāmi, explain the passage as alluding to the Lokāyatika, I must point out, that Professor Wilson has fallen into error in speaking of the Lokāyatika as a division of the Bauddhas. And his learned Editor, Dr. Reinhold Rost, shows himself to be of this opinion by putting a Quære against the Professor's remark. The Lokāyatika, as every reader of Mādhav's Sarvadarśanasamgraha is aware, are in truth identical with the Chārvāka or Materialists, a sect essentially different from the Buddhists. And the conclusion, therefore, seems to me to follow, that Professor Wilson, in speaking of the allusion to the Bauddhas as clear, was himself clearly committing a mistake. But further, while I concede, that the doctrines alluded to in the passage under discussion are very like those of the Lokāyatika, still it seems to me that they do not appear there in that developed and definite form in which they appear even in the work of Brihaspati, as we know it from the extracts in the Sarvadarśanasamgraha.* That work exhibits them, I think, in a more advanced and fully developed form, and probably therefore belongs to a considerably later age, than the Bhagavadgītā. Now Brihaspati appears to have been the first author of a systematic Lokāyatik work, and the Bhāguri

* First section *passim*. Madhusūdan's and S'ridhar's commentaries on Gītā XVI. 11. contain quotations from Brihaspati not in verse but in sūtras. And this was probably the oldest form of Brihaspati's work. What is the relation to it of the work cited from by Mādhav? I have no access to either the sūtras or the verses in original, and cannot answer the question. The argument in the text must, therefore, be taken subject to considerable allowances.

Tīkā alluded to in Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya** was very probably a commentary on Bṛihaspati's work. See then how the matter stands. The Gītā may be taken as standing chronologically prior to Bṛihaspati; Bṛihaspati as prior to the Bhāguri Tīkā; the Bhāguri Tīkā as prior to Patanjali; and Patanjali as prior to the beginning of the first century before Christ.† How old, then, must the Gītā be? True, the argument here is based, in very great measure, not on ascertained facts, but on mere presumptions. But on the other hand, it must be remembered, that these presumptions are such as the facts before us render very likely. And if they are correct, they lead logically to the conclusion, that the Gītā is much older than Dr. Lorinser's school would fain allow it to be.

But apart from this last branch of the argument, which, as just remarked, is mainly based on presumptions; if it is true, as I contend it is, that the Gītā does not contain that allusion to the Buddhists which Professor Wilson thought it contained; and if it therefore follows, as it must be admitted to follow, that the conclusion which might be drawn from the supposed allusion must fall to the ground; then it seems to me a very pertinent inquiry to ask—what ground Dr. Lorinser has for the very unqualified and unhesitating assertion, which he has ventured to make about the relative dates of the composition of the Gītā and the rise of Buddhism. Of any other ground than that above disposed of I cannot see the slightest trace. And I do not think it at all unlikely, that the statement of Professor Wilson above referred to has

* Under Pāṇini VII 3. 44 (Banāras Ed. p. 115) and see Kaiyaṭ on the same.

† See the introduction to our Edition of Bhārṭṛihari (Bombay Series of Sanskrit Classics) where the authorities on this point are collected.

been taken by some later writers as laying down a finally established proposition, to be treated in all discussions on the subject as embodying, in Dr. Lorinser's language, one of the 'results already won,' or as Professor Weber phrases it, as forming part of 'the present state of scientific research.' I know, and have elsewhere pointed out, at least one instance of an assertion, made by one scholar with words of limitation and qualification, which has been afterwards repeated by another scholar without any such diluting expression, as if it were a proved and well recognized truth.* And the scholar who copies in this fashion is a critical German, 'whose authority in the sphere of Indian Philology', as we are for the first time told by Dr. Lorinser, 'is recognized even in India.†

That being so, the question still remains—Is or is not the Gîtâ older than Buddhism? I own that in forming an opinion on this point, the materials at my command are unfortunately very scanty. But in the absence of anything else, I think that they furnish quite sufficient ground for holding, at least as a sort of provisional hypothesis, that the Gîtâ is older, and not later, than the rise of Buddhism. For in the first place, as is, and indeed must be, admitted on all hands, there is no express mention of the name or doctrines of Buddha in the Bhagavadgîtâ. In the second place, there is not even any implied allusion to either Buddha or his doctrines, the only passage which has been relied on as containing such an allusion having been shown above to refer to a totally different sect. Now I admit at once, what, indeed, I have elsewhere contended for, that a merely negative argument of this nature is not in ordinary cases of much value.‡ Nor do I adduce it

* See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol II. 73.

† *Ibid* 284.

‡ See 'Was the Râmâyana copied from Homer?' p. 41. I may,

here as entitled to much force. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the Gītā, in some parts, is concerned with topics identical with those to which Buddhism addresses itself, and in view of this other fact, that various opinions held by other thinkers* are alluded to in the course of the work, this negative argument does appear to me to be worth some consideration. Further, I think, that the way in which the Veda are spoken of in more than one passage of the Gītā, shows that the composition of the work must be referred to a time when no attack had as yet been made on their authority.† For being, as is conceded even by Dr. Lorinser, the work of one who was himself thoroughly orthodox,‡ it is not likely, that the Gītā would add strength to the hands of the heterodox Buddhists, by showing a split in the phalanx of orthodox Hinduism at the main point of contest between the two parties. It seems to me more likely, that the Gītā was a work of the age immediately preceding the Buddhistic revolution—one outcome, probably, of that general upheaval of religious feeling, which culminated at last in the heresy of Gautama Buddha.

Now in this state of the case, I repeat, I am entirely unprepared to accept Dr. Lorinser's statement, that it is "certain" that the Bhagavadgītā "dates after Buddha." Dr. Lorinser adduces no argument, does not even refer to any authority for his position. And this leads to a remark, perhaps, he permitted to point out that Prof. Lightfoot in his review of 'Supernatural Religion' has expressed a view agreeing with ours, as to this 'negative agreement.' See *Contemporary Review* (January).

* See XIII. 4 or XVIII. 2, 13 among other passages.

† See II. 42, 43 or VI. 44 or IX. 21. Of course there is no direct defiance of the authority of the Veda but the reverse. Nevertheless the way they are spoken of is worthy of note, and seems to mark a sort of compromise.

‡ *Ind. Ant.*, VI. II. 234a and see Thomson's Gītā *passim*.

which I may have to make in several places in the course of this discussion, that Dr. Lorinser very rarely refers his readers to the authorities for his assertions. I own, I find it quite impossible to satisfy myself, that there are more than a very few facts in the history of Sanskrit Literature, which we are entitled to speak of as historically "certain." That being so, I think, every reader has a right to expect, that the authorities for all important statements involved in any discussion should be always very carefully referred to. And I may say, that this is the general, if not the universal, practice. Dr. Lorinser, however, has laid down several propositions in the course of his essay, like the one which we have just been discussing, without giving his readers the slightest clue to the arguments or the authorities by which those propositions are supported. And the consequence is, that it is exceedingly difficult to deal with them except by the method of giving a bare denial to a bare assertion.

We now proceed to the second point, and I think it need not detain us long; for I at once confess, that I cannot understand the meaning of Dr. Lorinser's words. "A period terminating several centuries after the commencement of the Christian Era,"* may mean all the time from the beginning of the world to the year of Grace one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five! It is, of course, clear, that Dr. Lorinser means something less vague than this, but what that something is, I have hitherto failed to perceive clearly. It is possible, that Dr. Lorinser means by it a period marked by certain noteworthy characteristics, which closed several centuries after Christ. But if so, I submit, that Dr. Lorinser ought to have told us what those characteristics are, and also, for the purposes of the present argument, when the

* *Ind. And.*, Vol. II. 283a.

period in his opinion commenced. For a work may belong to a period "terminating several centuries after the commencement of the Christian Era," and yet may itself have been composed even before the birth of Christ. However, as already stated, no information on these matters is furnished by Dr. Lorinser; and his proposition without such information is very vague, that it is impossible to grapple with it. We shall, therefore, proceed without further ado to the third of Dr. Lorinser's points as stated above.

1. This third point is really the most important point of all; it is, as I may say, borrowing the language of Prof. Max Müller, the sheet-anchor of Dr. Lorinser's theory. The point is, that it is possible to prove that the author of the Gītā knew and used the New Testament. Let us endeavour to see how Dr. Lorinser satisfies himself that he has proved this. His argument seems to be as follows:—Śaṅkarācārya lived in the eighth century A. C.; from that it is to be inferred that the Gītā was composed at the earliest some five centuries earlier; at that time there were Christian communities in India; and there was also an Indian Translation of the Bible belonging probably to the first or second century A. C. "In this way," Dr. Lorinser then goes on to observe, "the possibility that the composer of the Bhagavadgītā may have been acquainted not merely with the general teaching of Christianity, but also with the very writings of the New Testament, might be shown in a very natural way, without the necessity of having recourse to rash hypothesis."* And next, coupling with this possibility "the fact that we can find in the Bhagavadgītā passages, and these not single and obscure, but numerous and clear, which present a surprising similarity to passages in the New Testament," Dr. Lorinser

* *Ind. Ant.*, Vol II, 281a.

sees "conclusive proof that the composer (of the Bhagavad-gītā) was acquainted with the writings of the New Testament, and used them as he thought fit."* Q. E. D.

Now it appears to me, that every single step in this reasoning is open to objections of a more or less grave character. Let us take the several steps in their order. It is by no means certain that S'ankar flourished in the eighth century A. C. Dr. Lorinser himself thinks that the "reasons" on which this hypothesis rests, though "weighty," "can make no claim to irrefragable certainty."† I quite concur. But when Dr. Lorinser indulges the hope, that S'ankar's date may prove to be later than the eighth century,‡ I entirely differ from him. My expectation, on the contrary, is that the correct date will turn out to be at least a century or two earlier. I cannot go into the question at length on this occasion. I shall only refer in brief to some considerations which appear to me to support my position. In his paper on the antiquity of the Mahābhārat, Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, arguing from the data furnished by certain inscriptions which he refers to, suggests two alternative dates for S'ankar, the later of which is earlier by two centuries than the date fixed by the "usual hypothesis."§ Again Mādhavāchārya in his S'ankarvijaya—a work which dates from about 1350 A. C.||—speaks of S'ankar as स्तुतः सम्प्रदायिभिः पुराणैः, (anglice, "well extolled by ancient poets,") and of his own work as one in which प्राचीनयुद्धवर्जये सारसंगृहणे स्फुटम् ¶ ("the substance of the old work on the victories of S'ankar is clearly stated.") Now it seems to me, that before a person

* Ibid 286.

† Ibid 283b.

Ibid 286a.

§ Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X. p. 89.

|| See Cowell's Kusumānjali, Preface p. x.

¶ S'ankarvijaya I, 1 and 4 &c. Prof. Wilson's essays &c. III. 192-3.

like Mādhav could speak of a writer as पुराणकवि or ancient poet, this latter must have preceded him by a considerably long period of time, say five or six centuries at the very least; while the hero of the predecessor's laudatory work must also have probably gone before his biographer by about a century or two. Furthermore, I find that the records of the Math of S'ringeri, which owes its first establishment to S'ankarāchārya, exhibit a list of the several occupants of the Gāthi, which according to the ordinary computation would send S'ankar into a much higher antiquity than the "usual hypothesis" gives him.* Once more, the Editor of Ānandagiri's S'ankarvijaya states that according to the traditions which have descended to him in a line of literary succession, S'ankar must have lived about 1200 years ago.†

But let that pass. Let us for the moment concede to Dr. Lorinser that S'ankar did flourish in the eighth century. Still I fail to see, by what possible process of ratiocination that alone could enable either Prof. Lassen, or Dr. Lorinser, or any one else, to say that the Gītā could not have been composed *earlier* than the third century after Christ. The reasoning is simply beyond me. Unfortunately, Dr. Lorinser, here as elsewhere, gives no references, even though he does not set out the arguments for his propositions. But if the opinion of Lassen which he refers to is that expressed in the Preface to his edition of Schlegel's Bhagavadgītā, I must say, that I think Dr. Lorinser has not correctly stated Prof. Lassen's view. That view is, in Lassen's own words, as follows :—"Si conjecturam facere par est, quinque fere sæculis ante S'ankaram editum fuisse Bhagavadgītām facile credider-

* In fact the records give his date also, but I cannot yet make up mind to place reliance on them. See Journal B. D. R. A. S., Vol. X, 373.

† See preface.

im."^o Thus far Lassen. Contrast Lorinser. "It must not be forgotten, that it (*scil.* Lassen's inference) only professes to give the *earliest* date at which the Bhagavadgītā could have been composed."[†] Is this a correct interpretation? Surely what Prof. Lassen can "easily believe" is not the utmost that he will believe. On the contrary, the inference which I think may legitimately be drawn from Prof. Lassen's words as above quoted, especially when taken in connection with the preceding argument which is summed up in them, is that the interval he mentions is in his view much nearer the minimum than the maximum interval. But however that may be, it is perfectly clear, that the fixing of a *terminus ad quem* can never by itself lead to the *terminus a quo*; and even if I have misunderstood Lassen, I still contend, that the argument which I am now combating is essentially illogical, and such as no amount of mere authority can sup-

The next step in Dr. Lorinser's argument brings us to the question of the earliest existence of Christian communities in India. Now on this point again, Dr. Lorinser's deliverance is remarkably positive. "We know," he says in one part of his Dissertation, "we know that there were already at that time Christian communities in India."[‡] And in another part, he says in even more powerful language, "we know for certain that there were numerous Christian communities in India in the first century of the Christian era, which continued under the name of Thomas Christians and were found by the Portuguese."[§] This is decidedly a rather strong

• P. XXXVI.

† *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II. 283a.

‡ *Ind. Ant.*, volume II. 283b.

§ *Ibid* 285a. In the seventh volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, there

thing to say, but of course Dr. Lorinser cites no authority for his assertion, shows no means of "certain knowledge." Dean Milman, indeed, says, that "even of Andrew in Achaia and in Scythia, of Thaddæus in Edessa, Matthew or Matthias in Æthiopia, of Thomas in Parthia and Southern India, of Bartholomew in Judæa, there remain but vague, late, contradictory rumours which hardly aspire to legends."* But then Dean Milman is only a prosaic historian after all. And Gibbon is no better, seeing that he talks of "the legend of antiquity which tells of St. Thomas's preaching the Gospel in India."† I will not quote Wheeler‡ or Kaye§ in order further to confirm this view about the reality of St. Thomas's mission. But it does seem to me, that this instance of Dr. Lorinser's dogmatism in the teeth of such a mass of authority—and powerful authority too—is not calculated to impress one favourably about the value to be attached to

is a paper on the history of this Malabar community of Christians, and we learn there, that "the affiliation of that community on the Apostle St. Thomas was an invention of the bigoted Portuguese missionaries," opposed to all the traditions of the community itself. And the writer expresses his surprise, that the story "unsupported as it is by historical proof is asserted and repeated by even Protestant writers as Baldens and Valentyn" (see p. 366).

* History of Christianity I. 387. Another orthodox historian of Christianity, Dr. J. C. L. Gieseler, seems in effect to concur in this view, for he thinks it probable that the tradition is of Manichean origin (see Vol. I. of Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History p. 79), and the Manichean sect rose about the close of the third century A. C. Dr. Gieseler says generally (p. 76). "The history of the other apostles" (*scil.* except St. Paul) "and their early pupils is involved in great obscurity and has frequently been much disfigured by mistakes and fabrications"—a passage which furnishes an instructive commentary on Dr. Lorinser's words above-quoted.

† Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (Bohn's Ed.) Vol. V. 261.

‡ History of India, Vol. III. p. 390.

§ Christianity in India p. 3 *et seq.*

his strong asseverations. And when Dr. Lorinser goes on to refer to Eusebius as an important witness, he seems ■ forget, that out of his own mouth, Eusebius has been all but convicted of being rather a romancer than a sober historian. For we read in Gibbon:—"The gravest of the ecclesiastical historians, Eusebius himself, indirectly confesses that he has related whatever might redound to the glory, and that he has suppressed all that could tend to the disgrace, of his religion." "Such an acknowledgment" Gibbon very justly goes on to say, "will naturally excite suspicion that a writer who has so openly violated one of the fundamental laws of history has not paid a very strict regard to the observance of the other."* And it is not entirely unworthy of note, that whereas the Gospel which, upon the authority of Eusebius, ■ supposed to have been found in India in the second century after Christ, was the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew,† Dean Milman declares, that "where that Gospel was written, in what language originally, are questions to which no authoritative answer can be given."‡ Upon the whole, I think,

* See *Decline and Fall*, Vol. II. 68. Compare Milman's *Hist. of Christ*, Vol. III. p. 360. The notes there and also at p. 17 of Gieseler's *History* above referred to show how even Eusebius has found his advocates. "Probably" says Dean Milman "Eusebius erred more often from credulity than from dishonesty." Be it so. Nevertheless the value of Eusebius's statements, even on this view, must be very small indeed. As to Eusebius's intellectual aptitude as a historian, see Strauss *Life of Jesus* (1865) Vol. I. 35; and also that wellknown work, *Supernatural Religion*, Vol. I. p. 124. We may add here, that ■ is on Eusebius's authority, that Dr. Gieseler seems to accept the reality of St. Bartholomew's mission to India (p. 79).

† *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 283. Even Eusebius puts it no higher than 'it ■ said that he found' &c. See Westcott on the Canon p. 70.

‡ *Hist. of Christ* Vol. I. p. 386; and see too Greg's *Creed of Christendom* I. p. 111 et seq.; and *Supernatural Religion* Vol. I. p. 473 ■ seq.

■ must necessarily be admitted by every unbiassed inquirer into this subject, that the evidence for this early existence of Christian communities in India, looked ■ from any point of view whatever, is of the weakest possible description. If we judged simply by the weight of authority, it would be far more safe to abide by the conclusions of two such eminent historians as Gieseler and Milman, than by the biassed statements of any other writer, even of Eusebius or Lorinser. If we applied to these various stories the historical tests laid down by Grote and Cornewall Lewis, and insisted on contemporary evidence, refusing to believe any statements that were not substantiated by such evidence, we should, I think, *ex concessis*, have at once to reject these stories. But even examining them by less exacting rules of historical criticism, they do not appear to me to be sufficiently vouched for. For there is not, I believe, any older writer than Eusebius to whom the stories can be traced; yet St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew lived in the first century after Christ, and Pantænus* in the second, while Eusebius himself belongs to the middle of the fourth century. The truth seems to be, as remarked by Dr. Gieseler, that "the real but later founders of churches

* Sir John Kaye says (p. 6 n). "There is no reason, indeed, to doubt that Pantænus visited India, in all probability the island of Ceylon and the Malabar Coast." I cannot find, that this rests on any older authority than the statements of Eusebius and Ambrose (1 Gieseler 230, where the remark on Pantænus in the text ought to be noted, as also the diverging accounts referred to in the note about the succession of teachers in the school to which he belonged). ■ ■ also to be remarked concerning Pantænus that, as admitted even by Sir John Kaye, "it is not easy to say what he left behind him or who succeeded him in the great work. The history of the Christian Church in the east here sinks into a cloud of obscurity." Col. Wilford (*Asiatic Researches* Vol. X. p. 69 *et seq.*) has some observations as to St. Thomas and Pantænus, but it is impossible to attach any weight to them.

have been frequently transferred to the times of the apostles by tradition"—a circumstance very natural and easy to understand, and one which, according to the writer in the Asiatic Researches above referred to, is known to have actually come to pass with regard to the Christian Church at Malabar.

Dean Milman⁺ has said :—"The other scattered communities of Christians disseminated through various parts of Asia, on the coast of Malabar, perhaps in China, have no satisfactory evidence of Apostolic or even of very early date ; they are so deeply impregnated with the Nestorian system of Christianity, which during the interval between the decline of the reformed Zoroastrianism and the first outburst of Islamism spread to a great extent throughout every part of the Eastern continent, that there is every reason to suppose them Nestorian in their origin."* To a somewhat similar effect is the following passage from Dr. Gieseler : "The Persian church had now broken off all connexion with the church of the Roman empire, and the Kings of Persia from *Pheroses* onward (461-488) favoured this separation for political reasons. These Christians, who had the bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, were called by their opponents *Nestorians*, though they called themselves Chaldaean Christians, and in India Thomas-Christians."† But it is unnecessary to further labour this point. Dr. Lorinser brings forward no evidence in support of his position ; and on such a point, it might even be enough to pit against his assertion the above passages from the writings of two such historians as Milman and Gieseler, who, if they had a bias at all, would have a bias in favour of Dr. Lorinser's position.

* Hist. of Christ. II. 31.

† Eccles. Hist. I. 404.

We next come to a point, which, as stated by Dr. Lorinser himself, "is of peculiar importance in the present discussion;" and I would, therefore, first set forth in Dr. Lorinser's own words what he says upon it. "Further" he says "there already existed an Indian Translation of the New Testament, of which we have positive proof* in the writings of St. Chrysostom, which seems to have been till now overlooked by Indian Antiquarians. The place in question is *Evang. Joan. Homil. I. cap. 1* and runs as follows:—

"The Syrians too, and Egyptians, and Indians, and Persians, and Ethiopians, and innumerable other nations, translating into their own tongues the doctrines derived from this man, barbarians though they were, learnt to philosophise."* Now a variety of observations arises on this passage. And first I must say, that on a point of such "peculiar importance," I wish Dr. Lorinser's words had been perfectly precise, even beyond the reach of cavil. It may be my fault, or Dr. Lorinser's, or of Dr. Lorinser's translator; but what is precisely meant by the word "already" in the above sentence, and what precise fact it is of which we have "positive proof," seems to me very far from clear. I, however, take "already" to mean before the third century, and the "positive proof" to apply only to the fact of the existence of the translation, apart from the date to which that translation is to be referred. This being premised, let us now examine the real value of this new evidence. Who, in the first place, are the Indians? Is it "positively proved" that the word Indians here means the people of this country? The

* ■ may be useful, considering the strength of this expression, to refer to the observations of Strassé at pp. 48 et seq. of the first Volume of his *Life of Jesus*. And see our remarks further on upon this point.

† *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 283A.

question is put for a variety of reasons. Writing of the reign of Constantine—and Chrysostom flourished in the same century with him—Dean Milman says:—"The Romans called this country (namely that about the Red Sea with that of the Homerites on the other side of the Arabian Gulf) by the vague name of "the nearer India;" while our country seems to have passed under the name of Further India.* This alone would throw considerable suspicion on the theory identifying Chrysostom's "Indians" with the people of this country. But secondly, the maxim of *nescitis a sociis* also points in the same direction; for the other peoples enumerated by Chrysostom belong exactly to that part of Asia which might be regarded as connected with the "nearer India" of the Romans. And lastly, when St. Chrysostom is pleased to speak of all the nations named by him as "barbarians" whom the study of the doctrines of Jesus, for the first time in their national life, taught how to philosophise, those expressions also, even taken *cum grano* as we shall show further on they must be taken, apply more properly to the people about the Red Sea than to the countrymen of Patanjali, of Kālidāsa, of Vārāhamihir. These considerations, it is submitted, throw at the very least an extremely strong suspicion upon the identification of the "Indians" and the Hindus.†

* And see too Gisseler Vol. I. p. 79 where India ■ stated to be probably identical with Yemen, and several authorities are cited for this view. See also Mr. Burnell's elaborate paper in 3 Indian Antiquary 309a. note and 1 Supernatural Religion p. 476 *et seq.*

† Sir John Kaye, speaking of Pantenus's visit to India, says (p. 6 note) that "the balance of evidence collected by Mr. Hough in his 'History of Christianity in India' is against the latter hypothesis," namely, "that the scene of Pantenus's labours was the coast of Arabia." I confess, I cannot bring myself to this conclusion. The contrary, I must say, appears to me more correct. Besides the evidence collected by Mr. Hough is not in my opinion of very much historical value, and the arguments adduced are extremely weak. Mr.

But further. It appears to me clear upon the very face of the passage, that the author ■ a rhetorician indulging in hyperbolical language. And what we are able to infer from this passage is amply confirmed by the information about St. Chrysostom which we receive from Gibbon. This, indeed, seems to have occurred to Dr. Lorinser also. But he says, that the consideration "loses its force, when we remember that all the translations mentioned by name in this passage, with the single exception of the Indian, are known to us from other sources and are still extant."* Upon this one or two observations arise, and again by reason of Dr. Lorinser's reticence as to his authorities. Are the dates of these translations perfectly well settled? And if they are, are they settled upon authority independent of this statement of St.

Hough says in one place:—"Baronius the Martyrologist concluded that there were two Bishops named Frumentius, one presiding over the church of Ethiopia, and the other over that of India proper; the reader will judge whether this is a more reasonable way of solving the difficulty than by drawing a summary conclusion which would deprive the History of the Indian Church of this interesting narrative." Not having any wish as to the preservation or otherwise of this "interesting narrative," I own, that I consider the suggestion of Baronius the less reasonable of the two hypotheses. Clements Alexandrinus's description of India need not necessarily have been learnt from Pantænus. And there seems to be some doubt as to Pantænus's exact relation with Clement. See Gieseler I. 230 and II. Supernatural Religion 191. The opinions of Fabricius and Niecamp are not anything like conclusive evidence, even if they are of any force ■ all, as to the reality of Pantænus's mission to India. Bunsen (Hippolytus and his age I. 235) speaks of Pantænus's Mission to India, "which means or includes, South Arabia." Dr. Westcott by putting India between inverted commas, seems to indicate at least a doubt as to the precise scene of Pantænus's labours. (Westcott on the Canon p. 297.)

* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 184. If this statement be correct, ■ certainly becomes all the more remarkable that the 'Indian Translation' alone should not be forthcoming. Does it not lend some support ■ the view put forward in the text?

Chrysostom ?* These questions are of very great moment, for unless they can be answered in the affirmative, we cannot obtain that corroboration for St. Chrysostom which Dr. Lorinser endeavours to find for him. And further it must be remembered, that taking this statement of St. Chrysostom at the best, we have to weigh against it the unquestionable circumstances that no such Indian Translation is now forthcoming; that such a translation is never alluded to any where else; that if there had been any such translation, the Christians would have taken very good care that it should not be lost; and that in those early years of Christianity, it is not very likely, that Christian Missionaries should have come over to India, and been able to master even one of the languages of the country sufficiently to trans-

* These questions were suggested, only because Dr. Lorinser expresses himself in various places as thoroughly satisfied about things as to which the evidence is of a very meagre and weak description. Since this was written, however, I have found, that there is some foundation for Dr. Lorinser's assertion. At the same time it is remarkable, and of very great importance in this argument, that the dates of these translations are not themselves well settled at all. As to the Syriac see Davidson *Biblical Criticism* p. 597; as to the Egyptian p. 653; as to the Ethiopic p. 648-9: as to the Persian p. 667 though this, by the way, does not seem to be mentioned in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, which may be consulted as to all the version, under the article *Versions* (ancient.) I may also quote here the following words of Dr. Davidson as affording very strong confirmation to the view I have ventured to express in the text as to the value of Chrysostom's testimony. After mentioning Chrysostom's "boast" about numerous translations, Dr. Davidson says, "But we are scarcely justified in attaching much significance to this language. The eloquent father speaks in the hyperbolic, exaggerated strain of the orator, rather than in the sober tone of truth and reality. The Greek passage need not be quoted, as it may be found in Marsh's *Michaelis*, where the learned translator observes, that Chrysostom has weakened his own evidence by the addition of the words 'innumerable other nations.' "

late the Bible into it. Dr. Lorinser thinks, "we may be certain that Chrysostom would not have expressly mentioned the Indian if he had not had positive knowledge of a translation in their tongue."^{*} There is some force in this remark. On the other hand, it is certainly not necessary to suppose any personal or positive knowledge. A mere rumour is quite sufficient for the purposes of a rhetorical flourish, though it is quite insufficient for the purposes of sober trustworthy history. And St. Chrysostom's words above cited appear to me, I confess, to have too much of the rhetorical ring about them. It is well known, too, that he was a man of a particularly fervid imagination, one who had gone through a regular training in rhetoric, and one, therefore, not likely to weigh his words with much accuracy.† Upon the whole, then, I do not think that any weight is due to the statement of St. Chrysostom which Dr. Lorinser values so highly. It is probably of as much, or rather as little, value as the rumour mentioned by his namesake Dio Chrysostom about an Indian Translation of Homer, which also has recently been raised to the dignity of a historical truth.‡

One word more on this important point. "The Indian Translation" says Dr. Lorinser "of which he (i. e. Chrysostom) knew must have existed for at least a hundred years before information about it could in those times have reached him."§ Very likely. But this remark, it seems to me, has also a value on the opposite side. If the mere information would take a hundred years to reach Chrysostom, surely a considerably longer period than a hundred years would be

* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 284a.

† See Gibbon (Bohn's ed.) Vol. III. p. 501.

‡ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. 176; and see "was the Bāmāyana copied from Homer?" p. 11.

§ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 284a.

required for the Missionaries of Christianity to come as far as India, to learn even one of the Indian languages, and to prepare a translation of the Bible into that language. And if we remember further, that the real propagation of Christianity among the "Heathen" did not commence till the time of St. Paul, and was not commenced even then without something like opposition from the older Apostles,* surely we must come to the conclusion, that when Dr. Lorinser asks us to believe, that the date of this translation may possibly reach to the first or second century A. C.† he makes a somewhat strong demand upon our credulity. And this quite apart from the question which will be referred to further on as to the dates of the composition of the original Gospels themselves.

But at this part of the argument, a suspicion seems to have crossed Dr. Lorinser's own mind, that this story of an Indian Translation of the New Testament is so indifferently vouched for, that it may probably not be of much historical value. And so he proceeds to discuss another alternative. "But even" says he "if we shut our eyes to the existence of an Indian Translation of the New Testament, it would still be possible that a Brâhmany acquainted with the Greek language may have known and used the original text."‡ According to the maxim that nothing is impossible except what involves a contradiction, this possibility may be accepted. But ■ seems to me that all the

* Strauss *Life of Jesus* I. 293. Milman also, (Vol. I. 380-1) seems to admit this.

† Dr. Davidson's highly reasonable observation may be quoted upon this. He says: "No man could think, as Marsh rightly affirms, of translating the Greek Testament before its several parts were connected and united in a volume, that is before the canon was formed. But the canon was not formed before the middle of the second century." See *Biblical Criticism* p. 597.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* II. 264a.

probabilities point exactly the other way. It must be remembered, that in the days to which these matters are to be referred, the Christian came not as a ruler as he comes now, but as one going to interfere with the religion of the people, without the power of physical force to back him, and without being able to dangle before their eyes any temporal reward to be secured by conversion to Christianity. And when we remember this ; when we remember also that there has always been a prejudice against foreign tongues among our people which is preserved in the line न पदेद्यान्मो भार्गवाणां कण्ठमनैरपि ; when we remember further, that even in our own days it is because of the ulterior advantages which the study of the English language affords that that language is learnt by many of our people ; once more when we remember that, even in spite of these advantages, those strata of our society which have not directly or indirectly much connexion with the foreigner in other ways still continue impervious to the influences of the English language ; when we remember all this, and couple with it the just assertion of Professor Wilson that Alexander's invasion had but little influence on India ;* we cannot but come to the conclusion, I think, that it is an exceedingly "rash hypothesis," which, without a scintilla of evidence, imagines a Brâhmap of the first or second century after Christ to have been acquainted with the Greek language. The rashness of the hypothesis appears to me, I confess, to be increased immensely, when we are asked to believe, that the Greek work which the Brâhmap studied and used was the New Testament, the Holy Book of a religion which sent out its Missionaries with the avowed object of destroying all the other religions

* See Mill's British India by Wilson Vol. I. p. 118. And compare Wheeler's India Vol. III. 240.

of the world, and among others the religion of this same Brâhmanical student of the language of Greece. Dr. Lorinser seems to think, that his supposition may perhaps find confirmation in the circumstance, that "besides the New Testament, there are traces of the use of the Book of Wisdom which was originally written in Greek."^{*} But the existence of these traces described by Dr. Lorinser has itself never been proved. Parallels between the Gîtâ and the Book of Wisdom there may be. These, too, however, may be only apparent and unreal. But even if they were very substantial and real, I should still strongly demur to the inference that the Gîtâ must have borrowed from the Book of Wisdom. Much more strongly should I demur to the use of this illogical deduction as a premise upon which to base any further deduction. What if I said, that the supposition that the New Testament borrowed from the Gîtâ may perhaps find confirmation in the circumstance that the Book of Wisdom also shows traces of its use?

And here a question of the last importance in this inquiry presents itself. While Dr. Lorinser is talking of the existence of translations of the *New Testament* in the first and second centuries after Christ, is it not a matter of at least grave doubt whether the original itself existed at that early period? Dr. Lorinser writes as if the conclusion which he draws was not at all in conflict with conclusions arrived at by other writers on independent reasoning. He does not even passingly notice any such conclusions. I shall therefore notice them. For although Dr. Lorinser may conveniently ignore the work of his countryman, Dr. Strauss, and others, I am of opinion that a complete investigation of the point before us requires that it should be discussed. And all the more

^{*} *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 1842.

will one insist upon this, when one observes, that the methods of criticism adopted with regard to the Gospels by Dr. Strauss and the other writers on their age and authenticity, are similar to the methods which have been applied ■ our own literature, as well sacred as profane, in the discussions upon our ancient history. Now in the first place, taking the four Gospels alone into our consideration, "we do not find certain traces of the existence of our first three Gospels in their present form until towards the middle of the second century;"* while as to the Fourth Gospel that ■ chronologically posterior to the other three. If so, no translation of these gospels into any language whatever could possibly have existed in the first century, nor it may be safely added, I think, even in the second century, except, perhaps, at its very close. It need scarcely be added, that the case as to the existence of a translation into Sanskrit or any other language of this country is even stronger against Dr. Lortz's view. Furthermore, the facts adduced by Dr. Strauss† very clearly show

* See Strauss *Life of Jesus* Vol. I. 76—100, and see too Greg's *Creed of Christendom* Vol. I. Chap. VI. and VII. In the *Contemporary Review* for March 1875, Mr. Matthew Arnold referring to the wellknown work called "Supernatural Religion" writes on this subject as follows:—"But this which it is the main object of his book to show—that there is no evidence of the establishment of our four gospels as a Gospel Canon, or even of their existence as they now finally stand at all before the last quarter of the second century, nay that the great weight of evidence is against it—he has shown, and in the most minute and exhaustive detail" (p. 525.) And with this should be coupled the remark of Marsh endorsed by Dr. Davidson which we have quoted above.

† See *inter alia* pp. 60, 75 of his *Life of Jesus* Vol. I. Compare also Greg's *Creed of Christendom* II. 37, and other places. Mr. Matthew Arnold, also, though ■ seems to refer more particularly to the heretics of the early days of Christianity, says:—"The practice ■ forgery and interpolation was notorious, and the temptation to it was great." *Contemporary Review* for March 1875, pp. 518-7. See too *Supernatural Religion* I. 464 also p. 472.

that there have been numerous alterations made in the reports of Christ's works and speeches, which, among other considerations, render it at least quite as likely that the Gospels in the course of their formation received accretions from foreign sources, as that after their formation the followers of other religious systems borrowed from them. And this, indeed, suggests one point of very great moment in the present discussion. The point is, that while Dr. Lorinser endeavours to interpret facts in unnatural ways in order to suit his hypothesis as ■ the mode of explaining the coincidences he observes, he does not even hint at the possible existence of an opposite mode of explaining those coincidences. While he strains every nerve to make out that the coincidences between the two works show the Gîtâ to have borrowed from the Bible, he propounds not a single argument to show that the reverse of his hypothesis ■ incorrect. There is nothing in this part of his essay which can furnish an answer to the query.—Might not the Bible have borrowed from the Gîtâ? My own belief is, that such a borrowing, whether directly or indirectly, is very likely. But as we shall have something to say on this point at a later stage of this discussion, we need not here dwell on it any longer.

So much for the arguments by which Dr. Lorinser thinks he has made out the possibility that the author may have made use of the New Testament. Here however, a very natural difficulty occurs to Dr. Lorinser himself. "But is ■ conceivable," he asks, "that a Brâhman, who holds fast to the traditional wisdom of his caste and puts ■ above everything, as the author of the Bhagavadgîtâ does, should have condescended to take such special knowledge of Christianity, and even to use some of its doctrines, and maxims from its holy

writings, in order to suit them to, and incorporate them with, his own system?"* Having raised this important question, Dr. Lorinser proceeds to adduce passages from various writers, which appear to him to bear upon it. These passages, which are set out at length, show that in the opinion of certain Christian scholars, the character of Krishna in the *Mahābhārata* has had attributed to it many of the acts and qualities attributed to Jesus in the Christian Scriptures;† and that the worship of the Deity Krishna is a comparatively recent innovation not earlier than about the fifth or sixth century A. C., as it cannot be traced in *Varāhamihir*. Dr. Lorinser thence infers, that in the same way that the deeds of Christ are ascribed to Krishna, the words of Christ and the doctrines taught by him may have been fathered upon Christ's Hindu analogue. ✓

Now if we remember, that the frame of mind which led the Greeks to "discover everywhere their Hercules and Dionysos"‡ was by no means the peculiar property of that people, we shall not for one moment regard it as unnatural, that Christian writers should have "recognised the influence of Christian doctrines and legends on the development of later Brahminical wisdom."§ In one of the extracts from his writings given by Dr. Lorinser, Prof. Weber attributes the mental prepossession here spoken of to the Hindus. I do not deny that this ■ in some measure correct. But seeing that the Hindus have long held the doctrine which Christendom has yet ■ learn, but ■ now likely to learn under the teaching of men like Herbert Spencer and others—the doctrine of what may be called

* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 234a.

† Compare Mr. Growse's letter on the Krishna *Jaumāshtami* ■ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. III. 300a.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 263a.

§ *Ibid* 285b.

the relative truth of religious systems, ■ seems to me that the mental characteristic ■ question would be more potent in the Christian than in the Hindu. Bred up under a system of religion which holds its own dogmas only to be true, and the dogmas of all other religions to be wholly and entirely untrue, Christians would naturally be only too glad ■ believe and to teach that whatever was good and true in other systems was borrowed from their own.* But in a scientific inquiry, when we have ■ calculate the value of results which are offered for consideration by persons in this peculiar position, ■ believes us to make allowance, so to speak, for the 'personal equation.'

What then is the true state of the case on this point? We shall go *seriatim* through Dr. Lorinser's citations. And first Professor Weber, in the first passage extracted from his *Indische Studien*, makes a supposition, which occurs to him involuntarily, that Brâhmapa may have gone to Alexandria, or even to Asia Minor, at the beginning of the Christian Era, and learnt there the monotheistic doctrine and some of its legends, which in due course they may have afterwards transferred—whatever that may mean—to Krishna, to whom, nevertheless, divine honours may already have been granted.† This "supposition" of Brâhmapa travelling in search of Christian doctrine to foreign lands; has, of course, no evidence at all ■ support it, and may be taken, accordingly, for what it ■ worth.‡ And in considering the worth of the supposition, the reader of these sentences will doubtless

* Strauss mentions "a legend of a connexion between Seneca and the Apostle Paul." *Life of Jesus* Vol. I. §51.

† *Indian Antiquary* Vol. II. 284b.

‡ Mr. Hough (*Christianity in India* Vol. I. 43) speaking of "strangers" from India and sundry other countries being drawn to Alexandria by the attractions of its mart, says:—"they came for the sake of

take due note of the auxiliary verb 'may' which ■ to be observed in such profusion in them. We seem here to be dealing with that "German license of conjecture,"* which was reprobated, and justly reprobated, by the late eminent Historian of Greece. And if Professor Weber really means to say, what in the words above referred to he does seem to say, that monotheism was introduced into India from Christianity, not only is there no evidence to bolster up this supposition, there is, I think, positive evidence to show that the supposition is entirely incorrect.† However, Prof. Weber, continues :—"the legends of the birth of Krishna and his persecution by

this world's traffic indeed; but they found in the knowledge of the Gospel infinitely more than they sought, and returned home freighted with the merchandise of Heaven." I own this strikes me as utterly illogical and unlikely. Men engaged in the "world's traffic" are not, according to the ordinary modes of human action, the most eligible persons for conversion to a foreign religion. And though the knowledge of the Gospel may, in the eyes of a devout Christian like Mr. Hough, be infinitely more than what the Hindu trader sought, the Hindu trader is not very likely to have taken the same view of the matter. At any rate his taking such a view is certainly not a matter of course. Mr. Hough next goes on to state, how some Christian Missionaries preached at Socotora, and how some may have gone on to India, and then winds up in this wise :—"who those heralds of mercy were, or to what extent the great Head of the Church vouchsafed to prosper their endeavours, the pen of history has not recorded. But this ■ of little moment. It is enough to know that their names are written in Heaven." This again is a remarkable mode of writing history. Mr. Hough has failed to show that the 'pen of history' has 'recorded' the fact of any 'herald of mercy' going ■ India. That statement rests merely on a conjecture of his own. Yet in these last sentences, he speaks as if that were quite settled, and the only doubt was as to the precise persons who took part in the transaction, and as to the precise extent of the success which they achieved.

* See Personal life of Grote by Mrs. Grote p. 264.

† Not to mention a legion of other passages, I may simply refer to the verse *एवं सङ्ग्रहं कृत्वा वरुणं* quoted in Yāska's Nirukta and see Wilson, Essays on Sanskrit Literature Vol. III, 345.

Kansa remind us too strikingly of the corresponding Christian narratives to leave room for the supposition that the similarity is quite accidental." I am not quite so sure of that. But we shall suppose that Prof. Weber is perfectly right. What then? This does not prove that the Hindus borrowed from the Christians,* and certainly not that they borrowed in the particular mode which Prof. Weber's clairvoyance has described. Prof. Weber goes on:—"According to Lassen (I. 623), the passages in the Mahābhārata in which Kṛishṇa has divine honours attributed to him are of later origin (belong in fact, as I think, to the Purāṇa epoch) and the Kṛishṇa-cultus proper is not found before the fifth or sixth century." The question hinges really a good deal on this point. Is this view of Prof. Weber, correct? Prof. Lassen's opinion—into the grounds of which we shall not stay to inquire—is not by any means enough for the exigencies of Prof. Weber's conclusion. For, admitting the "later origin," the question still remains, later

* See the passage from Sir W. Jones cited in Mr. Greg's *of Christendom* Vol. I. 140; see too 3 Wheeler's *India* 378 n.; and Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* p. 200 cited, apparently with approval, in Hardwicke's *Christ and other masters* p. 177. And see also Weber's *Kṛishṇajāyāmāshami*. *Indica Antiquary* III. pp. 21 et seq. It is worth remarking here, that this story of Kansa, on which Prof. Weber relies so much, is already mentioned in the Mahābhāshya—a work which, even according to Weber, was composed before the death of Christ. On Prof. Weber's principle, the inference from this is irresistible, that the Christian story is borrowed from the Indian, as Mr. Greg suggests. A learned scholar, criticising in the *Bombay Gazette* a paper of Prof. Bhāndārkar's referred to in the sequel, suggested that the passage might have been interpolated—upon what ground except its clashing with a foregone conclusion, it is difficult to say. Besides the writer is probably not aware, that the interpolation must have been made not only in the Bhāshya but also in the Vākyapadiya and in Kaiyaṭi's gloss, for both those works refer to the story. See under Pāṇini III. 1-2. (Bāṣṇas Ed. 27).

than what period? Professor Weber's assertion, therefore, that the passages of the Bhārat in which Kṛishṇa ■ deified belong to the "Purāṇa* epoch," must ■ fortified with other reasons than the vague deliverance of Prof. Lassen. But the only other reason I can trace throughout the lengthy extract from the *Indische Studien* which ■ given by Dr. Lorinser, ■ that "there is no trace in Varāhamihira" of the worship of Kṛishṇa. And it must, I apprehend, be at once admitted, that at the best this ■ an extremely weak reason indeed. But the matter does not rest there. Bhartṛihari in his Nītiśatak speaks of the Ten Incarnations of Viṣṇu. Of course, therefore, he must have regarded Kṛishṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. And Kālidās expressly speaks of "Viṣṇu in the guise of a cowherd." Now Dr. Bhān Dāji makes Bhartṛihari a contemporary of Kālidās, and both contemporaries of Varāhamihir.† What then becomes of the argument based on Varāhamihir's silence, when two of his contemporaries speak out in this wise? Still more, what becomes of it, if, as I contend, both Kālidās and Bhartṛihari must be placed a good deal, in fact two or three centuries, before the 6th century A. C.‡ Even yet, however, we have not

* What ■ the "Purāṇa epoch" of which Prof. Weber speaks? This is one of those vague expressions, highly objectionable and misleading as I submit, which occur with unfortunate frequency in the discussions on our ancient literature. The Purāṇa epoch means, I suppose, the epoch in which the Purāṇas were composed. Who knows when that occurred? I have already lodged my protest against Prof. Wilson's opinion in this matter ■ the preface to my edition of Bhartṛihari (see pp. VII.—VIII.) So have Professor Bhāndārkar and Babū Rājendrakṛishṇa Mitrā (see *Indian Antiquary* Vol. III. 16 and *Obhāndogyanishad*, Engl. Translation p. 53 note.

† J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VI. 225, and J. B. A. S. (N. S). Vol. I.

‡ See "Was the Rāmāyana copied from Homer?" p. 58. and Bhartṛihari (Bomb. Series of Sansk. Classics) Introduction pp. XII.—XIII.

traced the deification of Kṛishṇa up ■ the earliest testimony to its existence which we possess. There is in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali—an author who flourished before Bhartṛihari and before Kālidās—a body of evidence which ■ of the highest importance on this point. The strongest argument is that afforded by a passage to which attention was drawn by me in my essay on the Rāmāyaṇ in reply to Professor Weber,* and by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar in his essay on the Antiquity of the Mahābhārat.† Since then Professor Bhāṇḍārkar has collected several other passages from the Mahābhāṣya in which references are made to Kṛishṇa or his exploits.‡ The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible, that apart from the weakness of the argument *ab silentio*, there is positive evidence on the other side to show that the divinity of Kṛishṇa is not a post-Christian innovation, but is as old at least as the time of Patañjali, if not as old as the time of Pāṇini.

I cannot leave this topic without entering an emphatic protest against the perfectly arbitrary method of fixing dates in the history of Sanskrit Literature and Philosophy which this example well illustrates. I feel convinced, that the argument *ab silentio* has been in numerous cases impressed to do work to which ■ ■ not equal in any case, least of all in the case of a literature of which large portions can almost be demonstrated to have perished. While the chronology of our ancient literature and philosophy ■ yet entirely unsettled, there are not a few scholars who think themselves entitled to make dogmatic assertions about the dates of various works, and of the rise of various doctrines. But the evils of

* P. 27.

† J. B. B. E. A. S. Vol. X. 84

‡ Ind. Ant. Vol. III 14-16.

this vicious method, of course, do not stop there. Not only are hypotheses formed on the weakest possible foundations, with the smallest possible collection of facts, but upon such hypotheses further superstructures of speculation are raised. And when that is done, the essential weakness of the base is often effectually kept out of view. By such methods the whole of Sanskrit Literature, or nearly the whole of it, is being shown to be much more recent than it has hitherto been thought. It may be that we Hindus have in some measure to thank ourselves for this result. It may be that our claims to an exceedingly high antiquity have in the natural course provoked this reaction. This may be. But if this is so, then those who put themselves forward as workers in the field of "oriental research," and connect with their labours the venerable and dignified name of science, are bound to be on their guard against this reaction.

But to return. After the evidence we have set out above to show the antiquity of the belief in Krishna as a God, it is not very necessary to go into the other surrounding matters referred to by Professor Weber. Nevertheless as it is not quite useless to do so, we shall take a rapid review of them. I pass over the assumptions, which I contend are quite unwarranted, contained in such expressions as "Individual Christian teachers.....would not be without influence in the early time," or "Natives of India who filled up in their own way what they had learned in foreign countries," or "prepared by the current tendency of Indian Philosophy towards a concrete unity."* I pass this over, and come to the points on which, according to Professor Weber, "the whole question turns." Now the statement of the first point by Professor Weber himself shows how little any person is

* *Ind. And.* II. 283a.

warranted in talking about the borrowing of Christian dogmas by oriental people. It is difficult, as Professor Weber himself admits, to say what has been borrowed by the Gnostics from the "Indians" and *vice versa*. And the only remark which I need make with reference to this is, that I am not aware that there is much more material for deciding on the question as applied to the period preceding the rise of the Gnostic sects.* And when Professor Weber speaks of the reciprocal action and mutual influence of Gnostic and Indian conceptions in the first centuries of the Christian Era as being "evident," I think, he might with advantage have shown the grounds for this opinion; especially as it comes immediately after the admission made by himself about the difficulty of saying how much in each is original and how much borrowed. The second point of Professor Weber refers to Varāhamihir's silence to which reference has been already made. The third point is a good specimen of the vagueness in which great names can afford to indulge with impunity. "This worship of Kṛishṇa," says Professor Weber, "has no intelligible connexion with his earlier position in the Brahmanical legends. There is a gap between the two which apparently nothing but the supposition of an external influence can account for." Now what is the "gap" which requires explanation? What is the "external influence" which affords that explanation? The gap, admittedly, is not wider than that between a great human hero, and a hero regarded as an incarnation of the Deity. Is the transition from the one ■ the other such an immensely sudden, unusual, and inexplicable transition, that you must imagine some "external influence" to explain it? I have my

* About these sects there has been quite a legion of conflicting opinions. See the sources of them collected in Gieseler's *Compendium of Ecclesiastical History* Vol. I 135. One writer there mentioned derives the Gnostic doctrine from Buddhism,

own doubts as to the existence of this alleged "gap." But even assuming its existence, it appears to me that a fact of most frequent occurrence in the religious history of the Hindus—and also I may add of other peoples—is enough to account for it—the fact, namely, that a man who is thought to be remarkably superior to his contemporaries in any qualities of great worth is easily believed, in a certain condition of society, to have been more than human. And it must not be forgotten, that even in the case of Christianity itself, eminent critics have maintained, that "the New Testament alone, represents several stages of dogmatic evolution," and that "no one can have attentively studied the subject without being struck by the absence of any such (scil. supernatural) dogmas from the earlier records of the teaching of Jesus."* Are we not here also to look about for some "external influence?" I own, it seems to me a thoroughly mistaken view, which always seeks for the causes of such 'gaps,' where they exist, in 'external influences.' In most cases, the natural evolution of the religious idea in certain conditions of society, is quite sufficient to explain them. What "external influence" was at work in the apotheosis of Ś'ankarāchārya in modern times, or of the R̥ikhu in the times of the Veda?

The legend of the Ś'vetadvīp, to which Professor Weber goes on next to refer, does not appear to me to be entitled to the weight which the Professor attaches to it. I confess, I cannot see the slightest possible ground for identifying the Ś'vetadvīp of the legend with Alexandria, or Asia Minor, or the British Isles,† or any other country or region

* Supernatural Religion II. *ad finem*.

† This has been done by Col. Wilford, Asiatic Researches Vol. XI.

in this world. The Dvīp is in the first place stated to lie to the North of the Kahirasamudra; and to the North West of Mount Meru, and above it by thirty-two thousand yojana. I should like to know, what geography has any notion of the quarter of this earth where we are to look for that sea of milk and that mount of gold. Consider next the description of the wonderful people inhabiting this wonderful Dvīp.

ते सदस्रपिंद देवं ऋषयस्त्रि सप्ततनम् ।

अनेन्द्रिय निराकारा भविष्यन्ताः सुगन्धिनः ॥ २९ ॥

It will be news to the world, that there were in Alexandria or elsewhere a whole people without any organs of sense, who ate nothing, and who entered the sun—whatever that may mean! Remember, too, that the instruction which Nārada receives in this wonderful land is not received from its inhabitants, but from Bhagavān, from God himself. Nor let it be forgotten, that the doctrines which the Deity there announces to Nārada cannot be shown to have any connexion whatever with Christianity. On the contrary, I think, it must be at once admitted, that the whole of the protection addressed to Nārada bears on its face its essentially Indian character, in the references to the three qualities, to the twenty-five primal principles, to the description of final emancipation as absorption or entrance into the Divinity, and various other matters of the like character. Against all this what have we to consider? Why, nothing more than the description of the inhabitants as white, and as सदस्रपिन्धः which, Prof. Weber thinks, means monotheists (Sed quere). It appears to me, that the story is a mere work of the imagination, and that if anybody else had made any use of it as even in its nucleus historical, Prof. Weber himself and other European scholars would have objected to its use in any such way. And in-

dependently of this, I say, that historical or unhistorical, the story shows no tangible reference to Christianity or any Christian country.

We now proceed to Prof. Weber's fifth and last point, and here again we have an instance of that vagueness, which we have already complained of, and which ■ is so difficult to fairly grapple with. What explanation has Christianity ■ give of the legends corresponding to those referred to here by Prof. Weber ? What ground has Prof. Weber for saying that "individual Christian teachers" did not receive those legends in Hindu hands ? What has Christ got to do with 'life as a hardman' ? The whole question appears to me to be looked at under such conditions, that the result presented is inevitably one-sided.

Dr. Lorinser goes on next to refer to Mr. Wheeler, and to Mr. Wheeler's anonymous Reviewer in the *Athenæum*, who both assert this "borrowing from Christianity." It is perfectly useless, however, to multiply authorities in this fashion. The point which Dr. Lorinser is here endeavouring to make out is the probability of the author of the *Gita* having made use of the New Testament. Dr. Lorinser admits, both expressly and by implication, the intrinsic improbability of such a thing. And that being so, the production of a whole Olympus of mere authority cannot outweigh that improbability. The question is not one to be decided by authority at all, and most assuredly not by the authority of a Weber or a Wheeler. Upon the question whether the Hindus have borrowed from Christians, the *mere authority* of Christian scholars, I must take leave to say, ■ in my opinion worth nothing at all. There is but one other remark which I need make upon this point, and that is, that the broad assertions of Wheeler and his Reviewer are all founded upon the very narrow and frail

basis afforded by the assumption, that from the coincidence between Hindu and Christian legends the inference of the former being the copy and the latter the original ■ irresistible. I once more lodge my humble but firm protest against this unwarranted assumption.

To proceed. Having summed up the result of this part of the inquiry, Dr. Lorinser now goes on to couple with it an other argument, which according to him sublimates the "possibility" thus far proved into "conclusive proof." That other argument ■ based on the coincidences between passages in the Gîtâ and in the New Testament. These passages Dr. Lorinser marshals into three classes. Now although it ■ not to be denied, that his first and third classes of passages must be of some value in this discussion, I cannot admit that the second class of passages is worth anything at all. To draw conclusions from a comparison of the words of two works in original when divorced from their contexts is very dangerous ; ■ draw such conclusions with one work in original and the other in a translation ■ more dangerous still ; to draw such conclusions with both works in translations is most dangerous of all. But how much is even this superlative degree of danger heightened, when the translator ■ one who comes to his work with the spectacles of a theory ? How much more ■ it heightened, when that theory is one propounded by the translator himself, and one, therefore, for which he would naturally feel that paternal love, which, as Plato tells us, every poet and every author feels for the work of his intellect ? ✓

With this preliminary caution, let us now proceed to examine the first class of passages adduced by Dr. Lorinser. And on the very first passage (Gîtâ III. 6) it must be remarked, that the coincidence, if any, is a very slight one indeed. The

passage in the Gītā deals with a case of difference between the inner and the outer man. The passage in Matthew has no reference at all to such a difference, but with regard to the inner man, it says, that a sinful feeling should not even be harboured in the heart, for to harbour such a feeling ■ itself to commit a sin. There ■ here, therefore, not merely a difference in expression, but also a difference in meaning. As to the note on this passage, it affords one out of the many instances of dogmatism in this essay of Dr. Lorinser's, and simply begs the question. "The peculiar stress," says Dr. Lorinser, "laid on the inner purity of the mind in the Bhagavadgītā would itself alone suggest the influence of Christian ideas, even if other vestiges of it could not be pointed out." It is scarcely necessary to pit against this wonderfully dogmatic asseveration anything better than a mere "Certainly not." But perhaps it may not be out of place ■ add that, having regard to the fact that Jesus's own doctrine as enunciated above comes by way of improvement on the previous teaching of the Old Testament, it is more likely, upon the principles of Dr. Lorinser and of his great authority Professor Weber, that Jesus only learnt it elsewhere and did not work it out himself. And we may also refer to the strong and clear statement of this very valuable idea in the Buddhistic Dhammapad.* On the second passage (III. 32) there is a note similar to the above as to S'raddhā and Bhakti. The fact, however, ■ that while we have allusions to faith and its efficacy in Indian Literature of a date unquestionably prior to Christianity,

* See the passage cited at 5 Journal Royal Asiatic Society (N. S.) 229. About the antiquity of the Dhammapad which was commented on by Buddhaghosh about 400 A. C. (See "Was the Rāmāyaṇa copied from Homer?" p. 12) I do not think even Dr. Lorinser or Professor Weber will venture to raise any doubts. And see also ■ J. R. A. S. 179-80.

the Christian doctrine of faith is by Dr. Strauss pronounced a new-fangled one.* What is the conclusion hence derivable? With regard to the third passage (III. 34), 'desire and inclination' is evidently a mistake; it ought to be 'desire and aversion'; and it seems to me, that on this shoal some at least of Dr. Lorinser's argument is stranded. As to the coincidence, ■ ■ clear, that the passage of the Gītā has no reference to sin, which appears from the context to be the main idea in the passage in the Epistle; while 'lusts' also only represents one half of the idea in the Gītā, and indeed ■ essentially different.† And again while the passage from the Epistle refers to 'enemies of god,' the passage of the Gītā refers to the 'enemies of oneself.' On the latter part of the note on the passage, it is further to be observed, that in Matthew .X. 36 only a sectarian or a mystic can see any reference to the 'lust which dwells in man.' Lastly as to the 'Christian doctrine of concupiscence' I do not see its bearing on the passage at all. On the fourth passage (IV. 4) it would be well to remember the sequel of the claim made by Jesus. The fifth instance of coincidence (VI. 5) is, I think, at the best only apparent and superficial. While Kṛishṇa is there speaking of the Transmigration of the Soul, Jesus has not the remotest conception of it in his words. The lengthy note on this passage, however, requires also a somewhat lengthy treatment. And first, Dr. Lorinser holds, of course without assigning reasons, that "the Avatars all belong to the Purāṇa, hence to a post-Christian age." Now there are three assertions involved in this, two of which may or may not be correct, the third of which is certainly not correct, and all of which are without the slightest proof. It is not

* The question is discussed somewhat more fully ■ the sequel.

† See the notes on our translation of this passage.

proved (*pace* Prof. Wilson and others) that the Purāṇas are post-Christian;* it is not proved that the 'Avatāras' all belong to the Purāṇas; it is not proved that the Avatāras are post-Christian, but on the contrary it is proved that they are ante-Christian. Dr. Lorinser, after some remarks which it is not necessary here to refer to, proceeds:—"In my opinion, there can, at present, be no doubt whatever, that the incarnation of Vishnu as Kṛishṇa, the only one represented as a truly human incarnation of the person of the god, is an imitation of the Christian dogma regarding the person of Christ." Now so far is this from being correct, so far is this 'imitation' from being beyond doubt, that the reverse of it is now demonstrated. Vishnu's incarnation as Kṛishṇa dates from the time of Patañjali if not of Pāṇini—in either case, from before the time when the incarnation of Jesus existed, so to speak, as a fact; much more before it existed as a belief; still more before it was transmitted to India as a belief. The allegation again, that none of the other Avatāras except Kṛishṇa were 'truly human,' simply forgets Parāśurāma, and Rāma, and I may add Buddha. Dr. Lorinser goes on to state the reasons for his 'opinion.' The first, the similarity of the name Kṛishṇa to Christ is, I take leave to say, a mere *ignis fatuus*, not worth very much more than that travesty of philology where vowels interchange and consonants matter not. The many coincidences in the legends, if they are of much value in the investigation, are not more consistent with the theory of imitation as propounded by Christian scholars than with that theory read the other way. And more than this, the latter, I think, is more likely to prove the more correct view. Dr. Lorinser further adds, that the imitation "is pointed to, as may be specially shown, by the Bhagavadgītā itself,"

* Compare our Introduction to Bhartṛhari, p. vii, et seq.

The only observation this calls for is—why in the world is it not shown? If it could be shown, it would almost, I might say altogether, decide the question. Why, I ask again, is it not shown? But to proceed. The sixth coincidence (IV. 8) Dr. Lorinser might have made more thorough by adding to the passage cited from the Gîtâ a portion which his translation omits—"for the destruction of evil-doers." On the other hand it should also be noted, that the Gîtâ says 'from time to time,' to which there is nothing similar in the Christian passages, yet it is of the very essence of the doctrine of the Gîtâ. On the eighth passage (V. 8) it is to be remarked that the first part of it certainly does not coincide with the passages cited by Dr. Lorinser. It has nothing to do with the glorification of God at all, it is only conversant with the question—what is the active principle in man? And the answer is—Not the soul. The latter portion is much nearer the meaning of the passages cited, but there is another passage which is nearer still, but which, strangely enough, Dr. Lorinser does not allude to either in this place or anywhere else. That passage is Gîtâ IX. 27. The next passage discloses a coincidence only misunderstood. The passage from the Gîtâ is not so general as divorced from its context in Dr. Lorinser's citation it appears to be. But it is perfectly clear that it must be interpreted in connexion with its context, and thus interpreted, I do not think, that anybody will be able to trace the slightest coincidence. In the next passage (V. 16) there is again a mistake. There is no reference to "minds" in the original of the Gîtâ; and without that, there is little to liken it to the passage cited from 2 Pet. I. 19. Even with that, the coincidence is of such a nature, that nothing can, in my opinion, turn

* Probably Dr. Lorinser has so misunderstood the word *अप्यनः*.

upon it—not to say, that the differences between the two passages are perfectly obvious. The same remark applies to the next passage (V. 23). Calling a thing a “temptation,” and calling it the “agitation (for it is not exactly pressure) produced by desire and anger,” if they are one and the same thing, are at least two different sides of it; and in fact the difference of language seems to me to be only typical of the difference in the two points of view. What is the object of bidding us in the note to compare I. Cor. VII. 40 “as to Sukhī Nara,” is, I must confess, more than I can make out. What follows, however, I can make out, and do certainly deny. Dr. Lorinser says:—“The idea enunciated in this S’loka bears an entirely Christian stamp.” I say, on the contrary, that it is an essentially Hindu idea; and I do repudiate the claim put forward by Dr. Lorinser on behalf of Christianity. I must own, too, that the quotation from Chrysostom seems to me to be scarcely relevant. The next passage (VI. 10) well exemplifies the danger of wrenching passages out of their contexts for purposes of comparison. The whole of the passage from the Gītā shows the object of the “secrecy” to be the avoidance of interruptions; and Ānandagiri says so expressly:—*यामप्रतिपन्नकतु-र्जगतिविपुलीकैर्गुणैः*. Now what is the meaning of the passage in Matthew? Why, it is a warning against making a show and pomp of piety. Do not, Jesus says, and if I may add it well says, do not pray in public that you may be seen praying and thus regarded as a pious man. Admirable advice! But what has it to do with the admonition given by Kṛishṇa? The passages are entirely distinct in meaning. The word ‘secret,’ indeed, does occur in both; but the meanings of the two are not thereby brought nearer each other at all. Whether there is a coincidence in the next instance adduced by Dr.

* Compare Sutta Nipata by Sir Muts Coomars Swamy p. 108.

Lorinser (VI. 16) depends to a certain extent upon the true interpretation of the passage from Matthew. My own opinion is that Jesus's teaching allows much more liberty than Krishna's, and that there is but a very slight coincidence. This, however, only as far as Dr. Lorinser sets out the passages; when the other portions of the passage from the Gītā are considered, I think it will be found, that there ■ no reason for supposing any connexion between the two. In the next passage (VI. 39) I fail to see any coincidence. And ■ ■ beyond question that the circumstances are essentially distinguishable. Nor, I think, is there really any coincidence in the next passage adduced (VII. 1-3). Then again, as to the sixteenth passage, (VII. 14) there appears to me to be a very important distinction between the deliverances of Krishna and Christ. The former speaks of illusion, the latter of burden—a distinction, which again appears to me typical of the essential difference between the two. In the next passage, (VII. 15) again, I can see no coincidence except, indeed, it be that based on 'demoniac' in the one passage and 'devil' in the other. In the following two passages (VII. 16 and VII. 23) I can see no coincidences, when the passages in the Gītā are considered, as only they ought to be, in connexion with their contexts.* The translation of the second passage is not correct on the most vital point in the comparison. And ■ is also worth observing, that whereas Dr. Lorinser quotes Matthew XI. 28 against the passage at Gītā VII. 16 as well as against that at Gītā VII. 14, there ■ little coincidence between these two passages of the Gītā itself. This shows how exceedingly slight, to say no more, are the coincidences which sometimes satisfy Dr. Lorinser's mind.

* See our translation of the passage, and compare the sequel of ■ with the words 'every good gift and every perfect gift' in James i. 17.

In the next passage (VII. 26) - I see a difference just as clearly as a coincidence. In the twenty-first passage (VII. 27) the expression इह-कर्म ■ certainly misunderstood, and the coincidence, besides being open to a remark already made as to the addition of aversion to desire in the Sanskrit, is also very slight. The next passage (VII. 28) contains an even slighter coincidence, if it can be called a coincidence at all. In the next passage (VII. 29)* there is a difference more remarkable than the alleged coincidence. The two passages from John, the one referred to in the text and the other in the note, speak only of death, while the Gītā speaks of old age also—and yet, Dr. Lorinser, in the note, once more thinks it proper to dogmatize, and although he produces not a single passage from the Christian Scriptures referring to “liberation from old age,” he undertakes to say, that the idea “that taking refuge in Kṛishṇa liberates from old age and death, is an idea so foreign to Indian Philosophy that its origin can only be Christian”. Such reckless dogmatism,† for by no other name can it be justly described, is not calculated to make converts to Dr. Lorinser's views. Again मामभित्य in the Gītā is certainly very different from the expression “if a man keep my saying” and not quite the same thing with the expression in John XI. 26. Once more, the point of the two passages in John is entirely different from that of the passage in the Gītā, as may be seen from the remaining portion of the latter which is not quoted by Dr. Lorinser. In the next passage

* It may be mentioned too, that मामभित्य is not accurately rendered by ‘have fled unto me.’

† If Dr. Lorinser had given but a moment's thought to the grand old story of Buddha, he might have been saved from the error of making this extraordinary statement. And see too Kathopanishad I. 12. 28. Pras'na V. 7. Mundak. II. 7.

again (VIII. 7) no coincidence can be traced. The idea of the father 'giving' is certainly not found in the passage from the Gîtâ. And as ■ "casting out," that too has nothing answering to ■ in the passage cited. There is something nearer to it in Gîtâ VI. 30. The passages in the note from John are to the effect that knowing or believing in Jesus is everlasting life. That ■ not the way it is put in the passage in the Gîtâ; and the difference is again noteworthy, as showing the essential difference of the two systems. And this being so, the Christian trace "too clear to be overlooked" is nowhere. On the contrary I cannot but repeat here, that the idea appears to be eminently Hindu. The remark on "Karma Divyam" I must confess I do not understand.* And I may add, that the similarity which in Dr. Lorinser's eyes is so unmistakable between that expression and the verses from John referred to by him is perfectly obscure to my weaker vision. In the next passage (VIII. 9) there is some coincidence. In the next one after that (VIII. 23) there is much less, and St. Paul himself says his teaching is not novel but common to him with the Greek Philosophers. In the twenty-seventh passage (IX. 1) "with understanding" is a blunder in the translation, and the "mysteries of the kingdom of god" are something which differ *totò cælo* from the "hidden knowledge" taught by Krishna.† There is some coincidence in the next passage (IX. 11). On the next passage to this (IX. 11, 12) the remark made before on "demoniac" and "the devil" fully applies. Beyond that, I see no coincidence between the two

* I may remark, that it is quite wrong to say that कर्मदिव्यम् is the 'designation' which "Krishna applies ■ his incarnation." But this is a minor point.

† Nor is there any such distinction in the Gîtâ as that indicated in the passage from St. Luke.

passages cited. In the next passage, 'transient' is not a correct rendering of *यनामन*. There is some difference, too, between the 'law of the Ved' and 'the tenets of the Scribes and the Pharisees.' 'The kingdom of Heaven' also, as understood by Jesus, is different from the 'Heaven' (*सर्व*) spoken of by Kṛiṣṇa in the foregoing portion of the passage cited. And the most important point is, that whereas Jesus speaks of righteousness, Kṛiṣṇa speaks of abandoning desires. In the next passage (IX. 23) there is a misprint in the reference. The verse is the twenty-third not the twenty-eighth. I do not feel sure here about the meaning of Paul's words, but if 'ignorantly' has, as it seems to have, reference to the word 'unknown' in the sentence preceding, it seems to me that there is no real coincidence in this case. In the next passage (IX. 29), the contexts, I think, show that much of the similarity is merely apparent. In passage No. 33. (IX. 30) there is really no coincidence whatever,* and it is further to be observed that one word in the Gītā is not translated by Dr. Lorinser. And yet it is of almost vital importance here. That word is the word *अर्त*. In the thirty-fourth passage (IX. 33; 23 in the original is a misprint) there is some coincidence, but not very much, I think. What is the coincidence in the next passage (X. 1) or in that which follows (X. 3)? I own I see much difference and little similarity. And when in passage No. 37 (X. 11) Dr. Lorinser quotes a sentence from Mark in which the word 'compassion' is used, one feels tempted to ask, what possible conclusion can such a comparison lead to? Dr. Lorinser apparently wishes the passage from 2 Cor. IV. 6 to be read together with that. But that, even if

* The passages cited in the note on this have a slight similarity, but only a slight one, to one another. I can see nothing, however, to connect them with the passage discussed in the text.

ble from the point of view of an "apologetic critic," ■ certainly inadmissible, more especially in such an inquiry as the present. Nor, I think, is the similarity exhibited even after so coupling the two passages, of any significance. The next passage (X. 14, 15) is again an instance where we have an unquestionably peculiar doctrine of Christianity which has no parallel in the Gītā, while the similarity insisted on by Dr. Lorinser is a very vague one on an immaterial point. In the next passage (XI. 20) I see great differences. In passage No. 40 (XI. 22) there ■ nothing about belief in the Gītā where the 'blessed ones' are mentioned ■ well as the 'devils'. In the next passage (XI. 52) I do not quite understand the quotation from Peter, but as far as I do understand it, I think there is very little in it to compare to the passage from the Gītā. In the next passage (XII. 7) "the world of mortality" appears to me to involve an idea essentially distinct from "the body of this death," and it is simply allowing ourselves to be deceived by words to suppose any coincidence between them. In the next passage (XII. 8) there is, it seems to me, such an absence of coincidence, that the ideas of the Gītā and the Epistle are in my opinion clearly and obviously distinct from each other. And the little appearance of similarity which there is, is based on a mistranslation of मया ईष्य by 'on high.* In the next passage (XII. 14) "bringing every thought to the obedience of Christ," seems to me a very different thing from "giving heart and understanding to me." In the next passage (XIII. 17) 'far from darkness is his name' ■ wrong. In the next passage (XIII. 17) the verses noted at foot appear to be nearer the passage in the Gītā than the one cited against

* मया ईष्य also is inaccurately rendered by 'live with me.'

it. In the forty-seventh (XIII. 25) I can see no coincidence ■ all; nor in the next one either, (XIV. 2) for whereas the Gītā in this passage refers to the doctrine of metempsychosis, and indeed can be understood only with reference to that doctrine, the passages from John and the Revelation, of course, have no such meaning. How Dr. Lorinser can have persuaded himself that there is a coincidence in the next passage (XIV. 14) passes my comprehension.* There is, I think, a very important distinction between the drift of the next passage from the Gītā (XV. 15) and the sentence from John cited by Dr. Lorinser against it. In the next passage (XV. 19) I again fail to see any coincidence whatever, and in the next one after that (XVI. 5) I see most important differences. Once more, in the fifty-third passage (XVI. 9-11.) I do not see that there is any coincidence. And in the fifty-fourth (XVI. 12, 15) there ■ but a very superficial one. Dr. Lorinser indeed thinks it 'striking', but I altogether disagree with him. In the next instance adduced by Dr. Lorinser (XVI. 24) there is some similarity, but there is also considerable difference, and on the next (XVIII. 46) it is again to be remarked that the passage from the Epistle to the Corinthians there cited is also cited by Dr. Lorinser against Gītā V. 8 10, and if one reads these two stanzas in connexion with Gītā XVIII. 46, one will find it, I think, very difficult to see what coincidence there is between these two passages. Nor is it by any means easier, on the contrary it is perhaps more difficult, to perceive any coincidence in the next passage (XVIII. 55). As to the last citation (XVIII. 67), the only coincidence appears to be that between a very general precept and a very special case, but there is scarcely any perceptible bond of connexion between the passages.

* सत्त्वं प्रवृत्ति in this passage, is unquestionably not 'after his nature ■ fully grown.'

After enumerating sixty different passages in this manner, Dr. Lorinser adds that "several more might easily be added to them." I of course accept this statement, though it might have been better if references at least had been given to guide us to these other coincidences. But this I am entitled to say, that the coincidences which have not been set out may very safely be taken to be very much less remarkable than any of those which have been set out; and that being so, after what I have said before, I do not think that they are entitled to any weight in this discussion. Dr. Lorinser, then, coupling the frequency of the coincidences noted by him with what he is pleased to call "the specially Christian character of the thoughts," comes to the conclusion that these are "suspicious" circumstances. Upon the coincidences, we shall presently see what their cumulative effect comes to, but as to "the specially Christian character," I need say nothing more than that it is the very thing to be proved. And although Dr. Lorinser, and perhaps other Christian scholars also, may think ■ superfluous ■ prove this, I contend that that proof is indispensable. Dr. Lorinser next proceeds to "add the fact that we can prove from other sources the influence of Christian traditions on the development of the Kṛishṇa-cultus," and finally infers that the "hypothesis of an external connexion" ■ not "a very far-fetched one." On this I only remark, that so far is this influence from being 'proved,' that it is not even attested by strong evidence, and that there are exceedingly powerful arguments against the supposition of any such influence. I need not say more, because the question has been sufficiently dwelt on already.

Before going on to the next class of passages adduced by Dr. Lorinser, I think it necessary to state what I conceive to be the aggregate result of Dr. Lorinser's numerous citations.

And I have no hesitation in saying that I consider it to be quite insignificant. Some of the coincidences turn upon the doctrine of faith as to which something will have to be said further on. Some of the doctrines on which coincidences are observable are such as will be seen to have been the property of Hinduism long before the birth of Christ. The omniscience of God, the duty of doing everything, "in the name of the Lord," are doctrines which no theist need borrow from another. And that the Hindus were theists independently of Christianity cannot be gainsaid. As to the Avatars we have already spoken, and the idea appears to me to be an original idea of Hinduism. To sum up, therefore, not only are most of these coincidences individually very slight; not only do they turn upon such points, that the inference of a "borrowing" by Hinduism cannot possibly arise from them; but taking them all together and examining their cumulative effect, I repeat that they come ■ very little indeed. And this quite independently of the argument which has been already hinted at, but which cannot be too often repeated, that reasoning from these coincidences to a borrowing by Hinduism is most assuredly a *non sequitur*. True ■ is, indeed, that the cumulative effect of these passages has to be coupled again with the results yielded by the other classes of passages to be hereafter considered. But it is to be noted meanwhile, that unless some clearly appreciable force can be claimed by this class taken by itself, the mere coupling of it with the others cannot give greater support to the final conclusion.

Come we now to the next class of passages, those which, according to Dr. Lorinser, contain a "characteristic expression of the New Testament with a different application." These passages, however, need not detain us long, for they are in the strongest manner open to the observations made above

with regard to the inferences drawn from comparisons of passages, not to say that the words "characteristic expression" seem to beg the whole question.* It may however be useful to direct attention to some points in connexion with this class of passages. I do not think there is more than a very deceptive verbal agreement in the first passage. And in the next (Gītā III. 23), I cannot help thinking, we have the search for coincidences run mad. In the passage from Gītā III. 81, 'blaspheme' is not by any means a correct rendering of भस्मया. That word means दोषदीपे गुणेष्वपि; and the rendering of ■ by the word 'blaspheme' appears to me a wresting of it out of its proper sense for pointing a similarity when none exists. To proceed. The next coincidence (IV. 9) has been observed upon before. And in the next passage but one following that, (IV. 37) it is absolutely impossible, I think, to insist on the coincidence. What similarity is there between eating "the nectar of the leavings of a sacrifice" (IV. 31) and "eating of his bread"? In the next passage (IV. 38) faith being unquestionably different from knowledge—the "characteristic expression" in which Dr. Lorinser sees a similarity ■ contained in the word "purify"! In Gītā VII. 18 गति ■ not, as Dr. Lorinser wrongly renders it, 'way,' but more nearly 'goal,' a modification which not only makes the two passages different verbally, but almost diametrically opposite to one another both verbally and really. In the next passage (VII. 28) 'sin is destroyed' appears to constitute an expression "cha-

* When Dr. Lorinser says, as he does in the sequel of this passage, that "the composer of the Bhagavadgītā, was very far from being a Christian, or understanding rightly the Christian doctrines, since he only used Christian maxims to illustrate his Indian Śākhya and Yoga doctrines," he seems unwittingly to lay bare one very weak spot in his theory.

characteristic" of the New Testament! In the next passage the word *राजविद्या* occurs again, and 'royal learning' is, I think, an admissible rendering for *राजविद्या*. It means the "prince of learnings," as the commentators render it. In X. 9 'dead in me' is certainly an incorrect rendering.

It is unnecessary, however, to dwell any longer on this class of passages, although there is extensive room for criticism. And we therefore proceed to the next class on which Dr. Lorinser lays greatest stress. Now on the very first citation, it appears to me that there is no "agreement" between the two passages—certainly not in meaning—and scarcely even in expression. In the first place *सर्वदा* does not mean 'every day,' and 'steps' is scarcely an accurate rendering for *पद*. The passage means, I think,—as the commentators correctly interpret it—that God confers favours on men in a manner answering to the intentions and motives with which men worship him; but however men may act, i. e., to whatever form of the Deity they may in appearance address themselves, they really address themselves to Vishnu. This meaning appears to me derivable from the words of the text, and one which fits in with what goes before and what comes after the passage under discussion. And taking this meaning, it appears to me to be impossible to see any "agreement" between this passage and those from John cited against it. The next citation (VI. 5-6) introduces us to a couple of passages neither of which is as clear as it might be. In the translation of the Sanskrit Dr. Lorinser again differs from the commentators, and not, as I submit, to his advantage. In the last clause, "by its hostility" gives a very different sense from the natural one

* Remark, too, that the New Testament has the peculiar expression 'body of sin' to which we have nothing parallel in the Gītā.

of the locative **स्य**. Farther the translation does not show how that clause explains the previous words, 'it is also his fee,' which yet it is evidently meant to explain. Lastly, the clause as translated conveys no clear meaning at all. One other point is remarkable with respect to this translation. The blank **■** represented in the original by **न-मानसदादत्त**, which in English would be "one should not cast oneself down." Now this is not only different from, but almost diametrically opposed to, a portion of the sentences from the New Testament which Dr. Lorinser adduces. Why was it omitted from the translation? As I have said, the passages from the Bible are not particularly lucid any more than that from the Gītā. But I understand them to mean, that whoever is desirous of the pleasures of this world must forego those of the other world and *vice versa*. Now the meaning of the verses in the Gītā, I understand with the commentators to be this—that a man who does not keep his senses under control **■** an enemy to himself, whereas he who **■** self-restrained benefits himself. Of course, **■** is possible to trace a certain coincidence between the two precepts at bottom; but I do not think **■** comes to much, and after all the reduction of the one to the other is not a very direct process. I own that to my mind, both in expression and meaning, these passages present but a very slight agreement. In the next citation, there is an agreement to some extent, but for the essentially Christian idea of "my Father," the Gītā has nothing to show. **मत्सर्वम्** is rendered by 'above possessions.' The rendering is not inadmissible, but it also to a certain extent differentiates the two passages. And the coincidence which there ~~is~~ does not support the inference which it is sought to base on it. In the next citation (VII. 26) there is a coincidence, if 'see' is interpreted in the sense of 'understand,' and not otherwise; and the context seems

to make against this interpretation. But surely Dr. Lorinser goes too far when ■ grounds a claim on behalf of Christianity ■ have lent ideas to Hinduism, on such a passage ■ this, on a passage positing nothing more than the unknowableness of God. In the next citation अस्मत्पुत्रम् is not 'easy to understand'; सुसुखं कर्तुम् is not 'not sweet to do.' Here again even ■ the ideas are looked upon as to a certain extent one at bottom, still the associations through which they are conveyed are *essentially* different. And there can be no doubt that the words really show no agreement at all. In the next (IX. 18) the apparent agreement is the result of a mistranslation. गति ■ not way, it is more accurately the 'goal,' not that by which you go, but that to which you go. And this mode of putting the matter, which is the only correct one, shows the essential distinction between the two systems. With the New Testament writers, Jesus is but a sort of guide to the goal; with the author of the Gītā, Kṛishṇa is himself the goal. What Dr. Lorinser renders by beginning and end, again, is really and truly producer and destroyer or absorber, so that the whole coincidence vanishes in an error of translation! In the next citation (IX. 19) there ■ almost an appearance of disingenuousness, and I am bound to say that I was in the first instance deceived by what has been done. The passage as given from Matthew by Dr. Lorinser appears to me to convey an entirely different sense from that which ■ would have if given in its integrity; and ■ is only by omitting essential words that the appearance of "agreement" is obtained. One is almost tempted to call this garbling, but without going so far, I do think that the circumstance requires explanation. In the next citation (VI. 30), I have not understood the meaning of the passage from John,* and for

* As explained by Barnes, the meaning of it does not appear to

the essentially Christian idea contained in the words omitted by Dr. Lorinser what has the Gîtâ to show ? The next passage, also from John is no less mystical. And I do not think it can possibly yield the sense which is put by the commentators on the passage from the Gîtâ. The passage from Gîtâ X. 8. appears, to me, I confess, to show but little agreement with the passage cited against it. On the next citation (X. 8) we have again a somewhat obscure passage from the Romans, which, however, does seem to show some similarity to the passage from the Gîtâ. As to the two citations which follow, they do show coincidences, but it may be doubted whether they are of any value. In the next citation after these (X. 33) I cannot help believing that Dr. Lorinser has again missed the sense of the Gîtâ. "Among letters I am A" is not equivalent to "I am the beginning and the ending;" and not only is it not equivalent to this, its meaning is wholly and entirely different. Kṛishṇa, in the passage of which the words cited form part, is describing the best things of every class, and identifying them with the Deity. And when he says 'I am A among the letters,' he understands 'A' to be the principal letter, embracing all the "Vāṣṭmāya" as the commentators say. The sense of the passage from the Book of Revelations is of course and evidently distinct from this. The next passage, (XVIII. 66) however, shows a real agreement. But upon a review of the passages which thus do show a real "agreement," how much do they really come to ? Are they really such as to give rise to the inference based on them ? I must confess, that I cannot so look on them. The real "agreements" are all on points of such a very ordinary description as God's being the creator of the

this coincides with that of the passage from the Gîtâ against which Dr. Lorinser cites it, or even with Gîtâ IX. 29 which more like it.

world, the forgiver of sinners, and no faith. Does Dr. Lorinser really think, that the Hindus must have gone to the New Testament for these doctrines? It appears to me so extravagant a supposition, that I think to state it ■ to refute it. And yet upon this set of passages Dr. Lorinser bases his case more particularly, and talks about the "borrowing appearing clearly" in them.

Thus have we gone through all the various passages adduced by Dr. Lorinser as exhibiting those coincidences with passages in the Christian Scriptures which appear to him to lead ■ the conclusion that the former must have borrowed from the latter. We have endeavoured to point out in the course of our investigation of these passages the various errors in the translations from the Gîtâ. We believe we have shown enough of these both in number and quality, to justify the remark, made at the beginning of this part of the investigation, about the danger of comparing translations and basing inferences on such comparisons. We have endeavoured further to show, that even in some of those cases in which the renderings are not incorrect, it is difficult to see any coincidence as alleged. We have also endeavoured to argue that in some of the passages where there ■ no error in the rendering and where there is some coincidence, that coincidence is so far-fetched, requires such a lengthened process of reasoning to arrive at, that it is impossible to maintain successfully the theory of "borrowing" on the strength of those passages. Lastly we contend that in the very small balance of coincidences remaining, the teaching of the Gîtâ refers to points on which it is not only unnecessary to adopt the theory of borrowing, but simply impossible to adopt such a theory. We may, perhaps, be permitted to add also, that in some cases, we have referred to passages in the

Gita more nearly agreeing with the passages from the Bible cited by Dr. Lorinser than those referred to by him—in order that the true state of the case might be presented to the honest investigator, as far as it was in our power, so to present it. What now is the total outcome? On fully considering the matter, I must say that I can come to but one conclusion—Dr. Lorinser's contention is not borne out by these passages. He has failed to show that the "agreements" between the two works are of such a nature as to give rise to the inference of a borrowing by the Gita. He has failed to show, though he has asserted it with not a little strength of expression, that the coincidences are with regard to doctrines characteristic of the New Testament. He has failed—to borrow an appropriate expression of Professor Tyndall's—to look round the grand question before him. I believe that Dr. Lorinser's argument fails in many ways. It fails to furnish an adequate number of real coincidences. It fails to show that those coincidences are of such a nature as to give rise to the inference he seeks to draw. It fails to show that the 'borrowing,' if there was any, was on the part of the Hindu writer from the Christian. On the whole, I have come to the conclusion, that not only does the strong language of Dr. Lorinser find no warrant in the circumstances set forth by him, not only is there no "proof" of the theory he has propounded, there is not even any likelihood in favour of that theory. The circumstances will not support even a strong suspicion of a "borrowing" by the author of the Gita.

Dr. Lorinser next proceeds to observe, in confirmation of what he calls "the results already won," that large "sections of the gospel narrative have been imitated in the

And the first "section" referred to is that

of the Transfiguration of Christ. Now there is no denying the fact, that there is a certain degree of similarity between the two narratives. At the same time, it must, I think, be admitted that the similarity extends no further than the fact of the transfiguration, if what occurred to Jesus ought really to be called by that name. The manner of the occurrence, the details of the occurrence, the motive, so to speak, of the occurrence, are all wholly and entirely dissimilar in the two narratives. And in describing the scene as exhibited 'at Arjun's request,' and as showing Krishna's 'infinite divine glory in which he comprehends the universe in himself,' Dr. Lorinser himself appears to me to have indicated two important points of difference. For Jesus's transfiguration consists in nothing more than an extraordinary addition to the glory of his countenance, and is an act unsuggested by the disciples. Again, the form assumed by Krishna is represented as one which even the Gods are anxious to see, and as one becoming visible only to those who have faith exclusively fixed on Krishna. Not so with the form of Jesus. It is not regarded as anything to be striven after. If anything, it is rather used to confirm the wavering faith of the disciples. It is not a reward for plenary faith already existing. The apparent want of purpose also, the somewhat unconnected way in which the narrative is given, are both points to be noted in the gospel story, when it is alleged that the Twelfth Chapter of the Gita is a copy of it. Dr. Lorinser assigns, as one reason for his view that the Gita copied this scene from the gospel, the alleged circumstance that other "characteristic and prominent incidents" in the life of Jesus are transferred to Krishna. On some of these which have been mentioned before we have already spoken, and we have only to add that talking of the "transference to Krishna" in those cases is itself

only a begging of the question.* Further confirmation Dr. Lorinser finds in an "expression," used in the Gītā on the occasion when this transfiguration is narrated, which Dr. Lorinser holds to be "borrowed from the gospel"—of course without showing that it is necessary to infer from the facts that the Gītā 'borrowed' from the gospel, and not *vice versa*. Now in the first place, the rendering of the passage from the Gītā, contains one not quite unimportant error, for what is rendered by "suddenly" ought to have been rendered by "simultaneously." And secondly, as to the substantial matter of the comparison, there is really nothing to compare except the mention of the sun in both passages. In the Gītā, the glory of a thousand suns is spoken of, and said to be the only parallel to the glory of Kṛishṇa's whole form. In the New Testament, the comparison is between only the face of Jesus on the one side and only one sun on the other. Why should you suppose a 'borrowing' in such a case? And is the sun's brilliance such a recondite affair that the author of the Gītā could not have himself thought of it as a good simile? The passage cited from Gītā XI. 11 (II. is a misprint), is, I take it, meant to be regarded as 'borrowed' from the gospel words "raiment white as the light." But I confess I find it quite impossible to see even the flimsiest foundation for a theory of borrowing with regard to it. In the citations which follow, there is, as might be expected, a general coincidence of ideas, but there is really no coincidence, I think, in the modes in which the

* As to one of the 'incidents,' we may refer back to the view of Mr. Greg (citing Sir W. Jones) which we have adduced at p. xxix. note. *supra*. I am unable to see what parallel Dr. Lorinser has found in Kṛishṇa's story for "the washing of the feet at the last supper." If it is the occurrence at the Rājasthā sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira, Dr. Lorinser is certainly in the wrong.

ideas are brought out in the two works. A ~~wonderful~~—an extraordinary—phenomenon being seen, it is only natural that the person who sees should become ‘astonished,’ should not feel himself quite at ease. The central notion in the descriptions of such a scene must necessarily be one and the same. You can, therefore, draw an inference of ‘borrowing’ by the one from the other only by looking at the way that central notion is drawn out. And I think there is no room for doubt, that in this part of the matter the two sets of passages cited do not show any such similarity as alleged. I may add before closing this part of the matter, that in the last passage adduced by Dr. Lorinser here from Gītā XI. 50, “for the great spirit was merciful” is most clearly a mistranslation.

To proceed. There is I think an extremely slight similarity between the words of Krishna in Gītā X. 12 *et seq.* and the passages from Matthew and John cited by Dr. Lorinser. And not only that, but there are also very great differences; and I do not think that any inference can be drawn from a comparison of them. Dr. Lorinser next proceeds to Arjun’s “apology” in which he traces an “unmistakable similarity” with the “exclamation of Peter on seeing the miracles of the fishes.” I confess I can see no coincidence at all. Dr. Lorinser afterwards says, that “although the words are different, the situation is exactly the same.” So that it appears the “unmistakable” similarity is after all not between the “apology” and the “exclamation” but between the “situations” in which the one and the other are respectively made. And this is supposed to confirm the “result already won” that the Gītā has copied from the Bible! By the way, it ought to be remarked that the rendering of *तृण* by ‘cogur’ (in Gītā XI. 42) is entirely erroneous.

Lastly we come to a "certain similarity which may be accounted for by an intentional imitation" between the conclusion of the Twelfth Chapter and the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount. The similarity here ■ between the repetition of 'such a one is dear to me' in the Gītā and the repetition of 'blessed are' in the Sermon on the Mount. Now even Dr. Lorinser's dogmatism will not venture to contend, that 'intentional imitation' is the only way of 'accounting' for this similarity. There is no doubt that this tendency to repetition is to be marked in all archaic writings, and ■ is worth noting that a similar repetition occurs in the stanzas of the Gītā II., 25 et seq. II. 55 ■ seq., and again in Gītā XI. 28-29. In the teeth of these circumstances,* I think, it is a very bold proceeding to adopt the theory of "intentional imitation." And as to the eight beatitudes, it should be remembered, as Dr. Strauss observes, that they "consist from first to last of those Christian paradoxes by which the new Christian view of things comes into contrast with the traditional one both of Jews and Gentiles."† If so, shall we not be justified in applying here the theory of Professor Weber above referred to, namely that contained in the words—"There is a gap between the two which apparently nothing but the supposition of an external influence can account for"? What ■ we say that the external influence in this case was the influence of the Hindu Philosophy, and that the language used was the result of an intentional imitation of this passage of the Gītā?

In taking a comprehensive survey of the passages from

* And see too. Kāthopanishad III. 5, 6. V. 9, 10, 12, 13, and the Vācsettā Sutta in Sir M. G. Swamy's Sutta Nipāta p. 133. The Uraga Sutta, the Khaggavīra Sutta, and the Mahāmangala Sutta, indeed, take their several names from this very circumstance.

† See Vol. I. p. 277.

which the Gîtâ is thus alleged to have "borrowed," Dr. Lorinser finds that "it is the Gospel of John in particular from which the composer has taken the most important and the greatest majority of phrases." This is an important observation. For the result of the application of historical criticism to the New Testament records has rendered it nearly certain that the Fourth Gospel was the very latest of the Gospels, and the conclusion arrived at by Strauss, ■ has been already stated, is that the Fourth Gospel "was not known until after the middle" of the second century A. C. The remark of Strauss which follows this is also of great moment, in the consideration of this question of borrowing. The Fourth Gospel, he says, "bears every indication of having arisen upon a foreign soil, and under the influence of a philosophy of the time unknown to the original circle in which Jesus lived."* Now I do not profess to have gone through the long and able controversies on the subject of the date and authenticity of the New Testament writings. But from what I have read of the recent works on that subject, especially "Supernatural Religion" and the works of Mr. Matthew Arnold, Mr. Greg, and others, I believe, that the conclusion stated by Strauss is a conclusion maintained not merely by him but by most if not all those who have applied the canons of historical criticism to the writings of the New Testament. M. Renan, I be-

* The following remarks of Dr. Westcott are to be noted in connexion with this point. "Though it is unnecessary to degrade it into a mere controversial work, it is impossible not to feel that ■ was written to satisfy some pressing want of the age, to meet some false philosophy which had already begun to fashion a peculiar dialect and to attempt ■ solve by the help of Christian ideas some of the great problems of humanity," (*On the Canon* p. 246). And see Greg's *Creed of Christendom*, II. 38. See too *Quarterly Review* (January 1875) p. 186.

lieve, at one time held a position inconsistent with this view,* but in his most recent work on the subject, he too seems to have come round to the general opinion.

I am unable to find out the result of modern criticism as to the dates of the other New Testament writings, except that, according to Straus, the second epistle of Peter is not "earlier than the end of the second century after Christ."† It is sufficient for our present purpose, however, to know that the portion of the New Testament which is supposed to have supplied "the most important and the greatest majority of phrases" is held by eminent authorities to be much later than the middle of the second century A. C. See now how the case stands. Not to speak of the foreign influences under which the Gospel was written, for that is relevant only to another branch of our argument, Dr. Lorinser's theory requires us to suppose, that the Fourth Gospel which dates after the middle of the second century A. C. was brought to India by missionaries of Christianity; was either translated into one of the vernacular languages of the country, and studied in such translation, or studied in the original Greek itself by a learned Brâhman "holding fast to the traditional wisdom of his caste;" was drawn upon by him for some of the most important 'phrases' and tenets of a work which has always been regarded in its own country as containing the quintessence of orthodoxy; and all this, we are required to suppose, occurred within the compass of a century or thereabouts, at a period when the world progressed at the rate at which it did sixteen hundred years

* See Greg's *Creed of Christendom*, Vol. II. 119. Mr. M. Arnold's view may be seen in the *Contemporary Review* (March 1875) p. 515.

† *Life of Jesus*, Vol. I. p. 66. Dr. Westcott says the purely historical evidence does not take it much before the end of the third century (*On the Canon* p. 213).

ago.* Taking into consideration all the surrounding circumstances, even taking those and those only which have a bearing exclusively on this point and omitting those which lead to a conclusion opposite to Dr. Lorinser's by a different line of argument, I maintain that this theory is quite untenable. But we need not dwell here further on this point as it has been already discussed before.

We may here remark, parenthetically as I were, on the two passages adduced by Dr. Lorinser from the Book of Wisdom to which he finds parallels in the Bhagavadgītā. In the first there is, indeed, a certain slight similarity. But it is obviously neither very remarkable, nor on a point of such a recondite nature as even to suggest an inference of "borrowing." And remember, too, that "ordering all things" and "comprehending everything" are two ideas wide as the poles asunder. A similar remark applies to the next passage. That the body is a prison for the Soul; that to be liberated from it is to rise to a much higher walk of life; that the abnegation of the body is the way, and the only way, to final absolution; these doctrines are essentially Hindu doctrines. And to say that the Gītā borrowed them from the Book of Wisdom is to say what I maintain cannot be proved, and what most assuredly has not yet been proved by Dr. Lorinser or by any one else.†

Before leaving this question of coincidences, I may be just as well to draw attention to the fact, that these coin-

* I would quote here a passage which ought to have been quoted at P. xxiv. Dr. Westcott says "versions of scripture appear to be in the first instance almost necessarily of gradual growth. Ideas of translation familiarised to us by long experience formed no part of the primitive system" (p. 202).

† I need scarcely be remarked here that the translation of भव्यकागने by invisible way is entirely wrong.

cidences are observable not merely between the *Gita* and the New Testament but between other works also. Thus, as we have elsewhere pointed out, Mr. Lucas Collins at the close of his excellent little volume on the *Odyssey* in the series of "Ancient Classics for English Readers," draws attention to numerous points of resemblance between the Homeric narrative and the stories in the Old Testament.* A rather different species of resemblance is that between the *Gita* itself and the Platonic Dialogues. Thus to the doctrine of the *Gita* with regard to birth and death, in Chap. II. St. 27 we may find something like a parallel in the doctrine of Socrates in the *Phædo* (Jowett's *Plato* I. 416-7). Again in the passage in Chap. VI. 43 we may trace something very like Socrates's favourite doctrine of reminiscence.† And the comparison of the several bodies which the soul animates in its earthly career to clothes, which we find in the *Gita* II. ■ corresponds to a very similar comparison in Plato's *Phædo* (Jowett I. 436). The idea, again, enunciated in the words "And when they have there received their due and remained their time, another guide brings them back again after many revolutions of ages" (Jowett I. 458-9), is, to a certain extent, similar to that at *Gita* IX. 21. Several more instances of such similarity might, I have no doubt, be added. Some few on which I am able to lay my hands just now are referred to in the note.‡ But however remarkable some of these are, I do not think, that they furnish any fair ground for the inference, that Plato borrowed

* P. 129 ■ seq.

† See Jowett I. 418.

‡ Compare *Gita*. II. 16 (and our note thereon) with Jowett II. 523; *Gita* VI. 40 with Jowett I. 590. The description of a philosopher in the *Theætetus* (Jowett III. 398-9) may be compared with *Gita* II. 69.

from the Gîtâ, or that the Gîtâ borrowed from Plato. And by parity of reason I think in the case before us, that the coincidences pointed out by Dr. Lorinser do not support the inference which he bases upon them.

Dr. Lorinser here closes the main part of his investigation, but before finally concluding it, he attempts to answer "two objections which may be raised." The first is this—Upon Dr. Lorinser's theory, what explanation is to be given of the fact that some of the Upanishads have passages in common with the Bhagavadgîtâ? "As the Upanishads," says Dr. Lorinser, "which are considered parts of the Vedas have a relatively high antiquity ascribed to them, and are regarded as older than the oldest Christian records, the supposition that those expressions and thoughts (viz. those which are common, according to Dr. Lorinser, to the Gîtâ and the Christian Scriptures) were borrowed from Christianity seems to be excluded."^{*} One would expect that after this admission which is a full and fair one and involves an important objection to Dr. Lorinser's theory, we should have such a satisfactory reply to it as would leave the theory safe and sound. But there is a cruel disappointment in store for him who may form such an expectation. Dr. Lorinser is pleased to give only a "short statement of his view," of course without reasons for many of the propositions implied in it, and then he "leaves the further investigation to others." I humbly submit that this is not quite a satisfactory mode of disposing of an objection. However, let us examine this "short statement of my view," which he vouchsafed to us.

According to Dr. Lorinser, then, all the Upanishads referred

* P. 294b.

to here "reverence, a system which like the Bhagavadgītā, seeks to unite the doctrines of the Sāṅkhya, Vedānta and Yoga schools." Now it seems to me, that this initial step is a thoroughly mistaken step. I do not think, that we can trace in the Gītā or the Upanishads in question, any "seeking to unite" those doctrines. True it is, of course, that there are, as we may say, scattered about in those works doctrines which now are labelled Yog, and Sāṅkhya, and Vedānta doctrines. But I cannot see how we are from this alone entitled to infer, without support from other circumstances, that the works in question attempt to reconcile those doctrines into one integral system. On the contrary, it strikes me that the circumstances point the other way. My view is, that in the Gītā and the Upanishads, the philosophical part has not been consistently and fully worked out. We have there the results of free thought exercised on different subjects of great moment, unfettered by the exigencies of any foregone conclusion or of any fully developed theory. It is afterwards, it is at a later stage of philosophical progress, that system-making arises. In that stage some thinkers interpret whole works by the light of some particular doctrines or expressions. And the result is the development of a whole multitude of philosophical sects following the lead of those thinkers, and all professing to draw their doctrine from the Gītā or the Upanishads, yet each differing remarkably from the other. One of the best examples of such a thing in the history of Philosophy is presented by the relations between Socrates and the Socratic Schools. "Several Philosophers" says Cicero cited by Mr. G. H. Lewes in his History of Philosophy "drew from the conversations of Socrates very different results, and according as each adopted views which harmonized with his own, they in their turn became heads

of philosophical schools all differing amongst each other." Now this, I conceive, is really the correct view of the relationship between the Gītā on the one hand, and the Yog, the Sāṅkhya, and Vedānta schools on the other. It is a much a mistake to suppose that the Gītā endeavours to reconcile the varying doctrines of those schools, as it would be to suppose that the Socratic philosophy was the result of an attempt to combine together into one harmonious whole the systems of the Cynics, the Cyrenaics, the Megarics. As we have said before, the question in great measure depends upon the indications afforded by the surrounding circumstances. If we simply find a combination of doctrines belonging to two or three systems in any work, it is not possible from that circumstance alone to conclude whether the systems flowed from the book as a fountain-source, or whether they were the small rills of which the book was, so to speak, the reservoir. In the case before us it appears to me, that the points hinted at above militate strongly against the view propounded by Dr. Lorinser.

The next point taken by Dr. Lorinser is that the Upanishads in question "belong to the latest of the Vedas, the Atharva, and in the case of none of them is there any convincing reason for looking on the hypothesis of their post-Christian origin as impossible." Now I must draw special attention to the first part of this sentence. What if these Upanishads belong to the latest of the Veda? The impression intended to be suggested is that by reason of that circumstance, these Upanishads are not unlikely to be of post-Christian origin. But where is the ground for this sugges-

* Vol. I. p. 175, (3rd Ed.) Compare also Schwegler Hist. of Phil. p. 53, (4th Ed.) and Prof. Farrier's Lectures on Greek Philosophy. I. 267-70.

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tion? The fact of these Upanishads belonging to the Atharvaved has really nothing at all to do with their date as far as that is concerned in the present inquiry. On the one hand, even if they belonged to the R̥igved, they might be later than the beginning of the Christian Era; and on the other hand even if they belonged to the "latest of the Veds," that would not necessitate the postponement of their date to a period after the beginning of the Christian Era. The truth is, that when we look at the facts, the remark proves to be almost irrelevant, and it receives the semblance of relevancy only because of the extreme want of precision with which the expression 'latest of the Veds' is used, so as to suit the necessities of the occasion. If the quite unbounded vagueness of that expression is removed, even as far only as we can remove it on the most irrefragable evidence, the correctness of our remark will become at once evident. For although it may be the latest of the Veds, the Atharvaved is older than the beginning of the Christian Era by many centuries. I have already pointed out elsewhere that the Atharvaved is mentioned in the Mahābhāshya of Patanjali,* and in the Chhāndogyopanishad,† both works,* I apprehend, unquestionably older than the Christian Era.‡ I have also pointed out that Patanjali alludes to the Upanishads,§ and I contend that putting these two facts together, the result is that the suggestion of Dr. Lorin-

* As being, it may be added, even then 'ninefold' (p. 16. *Introd.*).

† P. 474.

‡ See "Was the Rāmāyana copied from Homer?" p. ■ and references there.

§ P. 16 (*Introd.*) Banāras Ed. See too, Manu and Vātsīyaṇ in his commentary on the Nyāya Sūtras (Manu II. 145, 160; and Vātsīyaṇ Bhāshya p. 3).

ser is the reverse of the conclusion to which the facts seem to point. And when Dr. Lorinser proceeds to say that there is no "convincing reason" for refusing to believe the post-Christian origin of the Upanishads, it becomes necessary to ask, what "convincing reason" is there for believing in their post-Christian origin—what but the necessity which Dr. Lorinser is under of making guesses to suit his foregone conclusions? I agree with Dr. Lorinser that there is nothing to prove the hypothesis to be "impossible." But what is there to prove the hypothesis of its being ante-Christian to be "impossible"? The truth is that in the domain of history, impossible is a word which ought to be used very rarely if at all. The whole question in historical matters is a question of likelihood, of probability, and reasons must be found in all the surrounding circumstances of each matter for holding an opinion one way or the other regarding it. Now what are the surrounding circumstances here to render this post-Christian origin likely? The only thing adduced by Dr. Lorinser is a guess or rather a couple of guesses of Professor Weber, based on certain facts connected with one of the Upanishads enumerated, namely the S'vetâs'vatar, which Dr. Lorinser pronounces to be "as I believe, the oldest of them." The first guess is one based on the names S'vet, and S'vetâs'va and S'vetas'ikh, and S'vetalohit. On this, Professor Weber says "Perhaps, we have here a mission of Syrian Christians."^o Of course, no further ground is assigned for this guess: nor are we instructed as to the connexion of 'Syrian Christians' with the Yog Philosophy; nor further is any explanation vouchsafed as to how Syrian Christians came to be described as having 'white blood' and 'white hair.' In truth the whole thing is but a gratuitous guess, which calls to my

* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 293a.

mind the following weighty words of an eminent authority on historical matters. "The very minimum of presumptive evidence," says George Grote in a letter to his eminent friend Sir G. C. Lewis; "appears to these gentlemen enough to warrant both the positive affirmation of a matter as historical and the demand which they make upon opponents to produce counter-evidence and disprove it."* Perhaps these words are rather stronger than are fairly applicable to the matter before us. But with just a little toning down, the protest embodied in them by Grote against the methods employed by the Egyptologists and Assyriologists of his day appears to me to be strongly called for both in the present and other inquiries touching our ancient history. However let us proceed. Prof. Weber's second guess is founded upon a basis only less narrow than the basis for this one which we have now considered. This guess is based on the name S'vetāśya Rājarsahi and on the fact of his having "raised his son to life again." I do not think this guess to be much more tenable than the last one. But even if it is more tenable, it is less relevant to the point before us; for it is suggested by a story in the Mahābhārat, and we are not now on any question connected with that work but with the S'vetāś'vataropanishad. It is useful to add that in the course of his statement of these guesses, Prof. Weber makes an observation, which shows how the comfortable old principle of "so much the worse for the facts" is impressed to do service here. After the sentence quoted above with regard to 'Syrian Christians', the Professor says:—"that their doctrines would be put by their Indian scholars into a Brahmanical dress, and that of Christianity only the monotheism would remain, is natural," I confess, I cannot concur in this. The enthusiasm of the renegade

* See *Personal Life of Grote* by Mr. Grote p. 263.

against that which he has abandoned ■ proverbial. And it strikes me as very unlikely that the Indian scholars of Syrian Christians should have compromised the most essential peculiarities of Christianity out of the doctrines which they taught and recorded. But even waiving that, and admitting this abstract possibility for the sake of argument, what are we to say of a theory which first assumes a borrowing on the strength of nothing better than four names (which to say the least of them, are highly equivocal) and then assumes further that the most distinctive marks of the system borrowed from were flung away in the act of borrowing? Have we not here the veritable French Philosopher who said,—“If the facts do not suit my theory, so much the worse for the facts”?

Dr. Lorinser goes on next to refer, for what purpose is not quite evident, to the Granthopanishad, which he says, “is regarded by Weber as older.” But here again Dr. Lorinser sees in the mention of Vishnu and S'raddhā “the development of the Vishnu-cultus under the modification of Christian ideas.” Now I have not been able to get a sight of this Granthopanishad, and do not know in what context the name of Vishnu occurs there. But I want to know what ground Dr. Lorinser has for connecting that name with any Christian influences. I can only see in this assertion one further instance of that amazing dogmatism, on which I have found it necessary to animadvert before, and which in its manifestations elsewhere has fallen under the lash of the late Professor Goldstücker who speaks of “the bold assertions and solemn affirmations with which some writers on Sanskrit matters are wont to represent the unreliable result of their speculations.”* One answer to

* *Westminster Review* (April 1868) p. 383.

the assertion not to mention others, is the very strong one that Vishnu is mentioned over and over again in no less a work than the *Rigved*.^{*} The reference to S'raddhâ I pass over for the moment; nor shall I dwell on the conveniently vague language of Dr. Lorinser when he speaks of the "time at which the Vishnu-cultus began to develop itself under Christian influences" without specifying anything more definite as to this time. But I think it worth while ■ pause here a little, in order to cast back a glance at what Dr. Lorinser has assumed or asserted, and to consider how the various assumptions and assertions stand when put together. We find then the following series—according to Dr. Lorinser—1. The New Testament; 2. An Indian Translation of the same; 3. The Granthopanishad composed under the influences of this translation; 4. The S'vetâs'vataropanishad similarly composed at a later period; 5. The Bhagavadgîtâ similarly composed at a still later period; 6. The Commentaries on the Gîtâ—for there were some—preceding that of S'ankarâchârya;† 7. The Commentary of S'ankar himself. Now omitting the first and two last numbers of this series, and conceding to Dr. Lorinser the very utmost he can claim, we have the Indian translation of the Bible dating from the end of the first century A. C., and the Gîtâ probably from the third century A. C. Is this a sufficient interval?‡ Even taking these dates as certain, can anybody who takes due note of the circumstances of the case

* See *inter alia* Mandal, I. 11. 61. B. 7. The question will ■ somewhat more fully discussed below.

† See his Bhâshya p. 7. (Calc. Ed. Samvat 1927).

‡ Upon the view suggested above about the earliest possible date of a translation ■ the New Testament into an Indian language, if any such translation was ever made, ■ almost needless to say, that the series ■ much longer than could be reasonably compressed within the limits which even Dr. Lorinser must accept.

be reasonably satisfied of the probability of the result thus arising? I can confidently challenge any one free from bias to any eye ■ these question.

Dr. Lorinser next goes on to propound and answer another objection to his theory, based on supposed coincidences between passages in the Gîtâ and Thomas A. Kempis's Imitation of Christ. His answer to the objection is three-fold. To take the last answer first. Dr. Lorinser supposes that the thoughts and sayings in Thomas A. Kempis must have been current among "old Indian Christians;" the conclusion being, I suppose, for Dr. Lorinser does not express it, that the Gîtâ borrowed these "thoughts and sayings" also from the "old Indian Christians." Really the force of bias and dogmatism could no further go! When there is a coincidence between the Gîtâ and a work for which Dr. Lorinser thinks he can claim a higher antiquity than the Gîtâ, then the borrowing is by the Gîtâ. When the coincidence is between the Gîtâ and a work which even Dr. Lorinser cannot venture to place chronologically before the Gîtâ, still this other work is not the work which borrows, but some non-descript tradition current among "old Indian Christians" is to be imagined—without the slightest possible ground for so imagining it,*—and once more apparently† the conclusion is to be drawn that the Gîtâ borrowed from Christianity! Surely this is not very logical. Surely even the "theological bias" ought to pause before going such

* Dr. Lorinser himself does not venture to categorically lay down the existence of these "thoughts and sayings among old Indian Christians." He only says, "we need not be surprised if they are found." But are they found?

† I say 'apparently,' because Dr. Lorinser does not expressly state this conclusion, but, it seems to me, that the argument is worthless unless this conclusion is :

lengths as these ! Surely, on this point ■ least, it would have been well for Dr. Lorinser to vouchsafe some slight consideration to the possibility of Thomas a Kempis having directly or indirectly borrowed from the Gîtâ.

The second answer which Dr. Lorinser makes to his own objection is, that "Christian asceticism and Indian Yoga have in many things internal points of contact..... so that we need not assume any external influence." I entirely concur in the principle involved in this answer ; and indeed I maintain that if Dr. Lorinser had acted upon that principle in discussing the coincidences of passages relied on by him, he would have found reasons to shake his full confidence in his own theory. The answer, however, is not sufficient to finally dispose of the objection here. What is the explanation of these points of contact themselves ? When do they first manifest themselves in the history of Christian asceticism ?* The answers to these questions may have a most important bearing upon the value of Dr. Lorinser's mode of obviating his objection. And here again the thought suggests itself, that Dr. Lorinser might fairly have considered the alternative which his one-sided inquiry has entirely ignored, namely the alternative of Christianity having borrowed from the Gîtâ. For in an extract from Prof. Weber's *Indische Studien* made use of by Dr. Lorinser at a former stage of this discussion, the possibility of this alternative being in some measure correct† is hinted at. As to Dr. Lorinser's other answer to the objection, it ■ not one of great importance, and I confess that, in the case of some of the coincidences pointed out by him between the Gîtâ and

* These questions will appear particularly important when we remember that asceticism was no part ■ Jesus's system, and that in fact he set his face against it. See Luke V. 33. Matthew XI. 19 (both cited by Dr. Lorinser).

† *Indian Antiquary* Vol. II. 285a.

Thomas a Kempis, there is not much to distinguish them either in kind or degree from the coincidences which he has pointed out between the Gītā and the New Testament.

Dr. Lorinser next proceeds to note certain other coincidences "of much greater importance" "with later Christian theological doctrines." And first he speaks of the "*lumen gloriae*." Now I own, I can see but little resemblance between what occurs at Gītā XI. 8 and the passage quoted from the Book of Revelations. I am afraid, that here again we have the wish which is father to the thought. However, I am content to take it, that there may be something in the "theologians" more nearly resembling the doctrine of the Gītā; still nothing has been shown in the New Testament of which that can be said with truth; and what occurs in the "theologians" is, I think, of very little value on Dr. Lorinser's side of the question. As to the division of moral acts into thoughts, words, and deeds, suffice it to say that it occurs in Kālidās, in Manu, and sundry old Indian works.* And as to prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, surely Dr. Lorinser must have made some strange error when he refers to Gītā XVII. 28 for that division. There is nothing about either fasting or prayer† there.‡ Lastly, leaving for future consideration the won-

* See Kālidās Raghū. V. 5. XV. 86. Manu has it in several places (See I 104. II. 236). And see Sir M. C. Swamy's *Butta Nipata* pp. 91, 101, and most of all p. 63. See also Yājñavalkya (Āchār) Śts. 27, 155 and elsewhere.

† Apparently Dr. Lorinser has understood व्रत and व्रतः to mean prayer and fasting. I can only say, that if this ■ so, we have a further instance of the dangers to which a comparison of translations ■ exposed, especially when the translator has a theory ■ support.

‡ It ■ to be noted too, that it ■ to a certain extent unlucky for Dr. Lorinser's theory that the passage from *Tobit* cited by Dr. Lorinser adds 'righteousness' also. What is the meaning of Dr. Lorinser's ob-

derful dogmatism of the note on S'raddhâ, what are we to say to the observation of Dr. Lorinser that "all these expressions and ideas"—namely the *lumen gloriæ*, the dogma *credo ■ intelligam*, and the others mentioned by him—"existed in Christianity long before they can be pointed out in Christian writers"?! Once more I am tempted to say, the force of dogmatism can no further go. The sublime assurance with which the observation is made ■ simply amazing. Where did these "expressions and ideas" exist if not in Christian writers? Did they exist *in nubibus*? And how long before they can be pointed out in "Christian writers" did they "exist in Christianity?" What is their history in that period, and what are the sources of information about it? Surely all these questions ought in fairness to be answered. Surely it is not fair to take refuge under this sort of dogmatism, unsupported by any definite evidence on a question like the present. If I understand him aright, Dr. Lorinser intends to suggest—and if he intends to suggest it, I submit he ought to have stated it expressly*—that in the later Christian writers these "expressions and ideas" come without any "external influence" from the floating body of Christian dogma, and that from this floating body of dogma, the Gîtâ must have got those "expressions and ideas." Now if the *facts* are, as they undeniably are, and as upon Dr. Lorinser's own implied admission they are, that the first definite and fixed form in which these "expres-

servation upon the words 'It avails not after death or here'? The *habitus caritatis* ■ not the same thing as the भक्त which the Gîtâ speaks of. For the expression नमनस्तेननो हृद्, compare Manu II. 9 III. 20, 143, 175 and several other passages, and Yâjñavalkya (Âchâr) St. 87.

* I am not sure about this, however; I find it difficult to follow the exact sequence of ideas in the last sentence.

sions and ideas" occur is to be found in the Gītā, and that the earliest Christian writings in which they can be traced are, and must be admitted to be, unquestionably later than the Gītā; and if further, as also Dr. Lorinser on his principles must perforce contend, the coincidence is so great that no other theory than the theory of borrowing will suffice to explain it; then I say the irresistible conclusion upon these facts is that the Christian writings must have borrowed from the Gītā. This would be the conclusion, I submit, which would be drawn by anybody not tainted with the "theological bias." Now if Dr. Lorinser wishes to escape from this, surely he is bound to adduce some more tangible grounds than the superlatively vague and indefinite statement that the "expressions and ideas" in question "existed in Christianity long before they can be pointed out in Christian writers"—a statement for which no authority has been adduced, and which I do not see that anybody is bound to accept on the mere *ipse dixit* of Dr. Lorinser; a statement, too, which if I may allow myself the liberty of applying to it the strong expression of Dr. Lorinser, seems to me to "plainly bear on its forehead" the stamp of being put forward expressly in order to get out of an inconvenient conclusion. I own that to my mind this is one out of many passages in this essay of Dr. Lorinser which convince me that he has looked at the whole question under the overpowering influence of "bias", and also, though perhaps unconsciously, with a violent desire to prove a foregone conclusion. Indeed this unscientific frame of mind, if I may so say, is betrayed by sundry passages in this essay, one of which occurs at the very outset, where Dr. Lorinser says, "Our aim here then must be to establish that the Bhagavadgītā may be attributed ■ a period in which it is not impossible that its com-

poser may have been acquainted.....with different books of the *New Testament*.”^a There, ■ appears to me, we have the key to the whole of Dr. Lorinser’s argument. Dr. Lorinser has an “aim”, and ■ that aim he has endeavoured to suit the facts which have confronted him in the course of his investigation. It will be said that this is verbal criticism. So it is, in a certain sense. But when it is remembered, that the conclusion to which this verbal criticism leads is one for which we have the strongest supports in the very substance and essence of the argument, I think that that criticism is entirely divested of its objectionable character. I may add here, that considering the peculiar circumstances of this case, I hold it to be important, and indeed necessary, to point out this pervading characteristic of Dr. Lorinser’s argument.

I have now, I think, gone through all the points made by Dr. Lorinser, with a single exception. And that exception concerns the doctrine of faith as laid down in sundry passages of the *Gîtâ*. As we have observed before, Dr. Lorinser iterates and reiterates his opinion that this doctrine of faith was borrowed by the author of the *Gîtâ* from Christianity, and if strength of language were any evidence of truth this proposition about the *Gîtâ* borrowing from Christianity would most certainly be true. But to borrow a phrase of Professor Tyndall’s obstinacy of assertion on Dr. Lorinser’s part furnishes a by no means sufficient assurance that his assertions are objectively correct.† Let us then bring together to a focus, as it were, the various passages in which Dr. Lorinser expresses his opinion upon this point. And first he says in a

^a See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 283a.

† See the *Contemporary Review* for July 1874, p. 138.

note on Gītā III. 34 :—* “There appears to be no doubt that these ideas (*scil.* S’raddhā and Bhakti) are not originally Indian representations (as they are not found anywhere else in heathendom) but that they have been taken over from Christianity, ■ Dr. A. Weber among others (*Indische Studien* II. 398 f.) supposes and has partly demonstrated.” Again annotating on Gītā VIII. 7,† he says “these passages remind one too clearly of the Christian doctrine of faith to overlook the Christian trace.” Once more, speaking about the Grantha Upanishad,‡ Dr. Lorinser sees in the word S’raddhā an indication of the “development of the Vishnucultus under the modification of Christian ideas.” Lastly, he says “I hold the idea of faith (S’raddhā) in this sense just as that of Bhakti (III. 31. IV. 10 and see Lassen *Ind. Alt.* II. 1099; Weber *Ind. Stud.* II. 398.) as a representation adopted from Christianity, and doubt if S’raddhā is used in this sense in the earlier Indian works in which a Christian influence cannot yet be pointed out.”§ Now what does all this really come to? To this, I think, that Dr. Lorinser maintains the opinion under discussion on grounds which are stated by Professor Weber, to which he adds one further ground, namely that the ideas of S’raddhā and Bhakti “are not found anywhere else in heathendom.” Now, with

* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 286.

† *Indian Antiquary* Vol. II. 283b (note).

‡ *Ibid* 293b.

§ *Ibid* 296. Upon this last passage, one remark is necessary. Dr. Lorinser ventures ■ suggest ■ meaning for S’raddhā other than the ordinary one. Why does he not state what that other meaning is, and what authority he has for adopting it? His declaration here is best described by a terse and vigorous expression of Lord Bacon—it ■ “dogmatizing in scepticism.” As to Bhakti the last Stanza. of the S’vetās’vataropaniṣad should be noted; and see too Rāghu. I. 90; II. 22, 63; V. 14, 20.

regard ■ this last point, I think, that without going into any elaborate review of the "earlier Indian works," to which Dr. Lorinser refers, but which, I suspect, he has not carefully examined, it is possible to show clearly that Dr. Lorinser's statement of facts is entirely incorrect. I will give quotations from tolerably early works belonging to various classes, which will suffice, I think, to fully "demonstrate" to any unbiassed inquirer the reverse of that which, according to Dr. Lorinser, Professor Weber has "supposed and partly demonstrated." I refer first to the writings of Kālidāsa. According to my own view as to the date of this great writer, the testimony to be found in his works is of considerable value in the present discussion. But as the date is yet not settled, I do not claim the same weight for this part of the argument which I should otherwise have claimed. Nevertheless it is a matter which is worth mentioning. At Raghū II. 16 occurs the line भद्रं सखिभिर्नोदयत; and similarly in the seventh Act of the Śākuntal Nāṭak occurs this stanza—

विदुषा ककुन्तला सखी सखस्मिदं भगन् ।

भद्रा वितं विविक्षेति निनवे तत्समायानम् ॥

I think these passages show by implication the importance attached to Ś'raddhā in the time of Kālidāsa. Let us now go on to a more ancient work, about the antiquity of which there can, I think, be no question, certainly none in its bearing on the point before us—I mean the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. There in the comment on Pāṇini, II. 2. 34. occur the following examples:—भद्रमिवे and भद्रानसौ.* Now when we observe, that these examples are given to illustrate the rule that in copulative compounds the more important term stands before the less important, it becomes clear that

* P. 370 (Bauhras Ed.)

was in the time of Patanjali regarded as a more important element in a religious life than even मेव and तस्य. If we go now to another class of works we find the doctrine of S'raddhā laid down in Manu and Yājñavalkya.* Going to a still older class, to the class namely of Upanishads, we find there also clear traces of this doctrine of S'raddhā. The Chhândogyopanishad is, I believe, one of the oldest of these Upanishads, and in it we have the passage यदेव विद्यया करोति भद्रया उद्विद्यया तदेव शीर्षेत्तरं भवति,† where we see the value ascribed to S'raddhā. Furthermore, the quotations from the Taittiriya Brîhman, and the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, contained, in the fifth volume of the elaborate work of Dr. Muir,‡ show that the Chhândogyopanishad is not the only one of the Vedic works in which a high rank is ascribed to this S'raddhā. But going still further into antiquity, going to the very first of the Veds.§ we are still able to cite passages from it which show that the idea of S'raddhā is not a new-fangled idea as Drs. Lenz and Weber would have us believe. For some of these passages I am again indebted to Dr. Muir's book, but there are others which I have come across myself in my own very partial study of the Rîgved. If opportunity should offer, I might discuss the history of this doctrine of S'raddhā from the period of the Rîgved to the beginning of the Christian Era. But the facts to which

* See Yājñavalkya (Āchâr) Sta. 6 and 202 and Manu III. 202, 273. IV. 158, 226.

† See p. 23 (Biblioth. Ind.)

‡ See pp. 103 and 317. (2nd Ed. 1870)

§ See *inter alia* R. V. II. 1. 12. 5. (I give references on the Mandala division) II. 3. 26. 6. VII. 1. 6. 3. VII. 2. 32. 14 (which, it may be noted, occurs also in the Sām Ved. See Benfey's Ed. I. 27). IX. 7. 113. 2. There are other passages of, perhaps, even greater value than these. But these are enough.

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

attention has been already drawn are, I apprehend, enough, if not more than enough, to satisfy any candid mind, that the doctrine of S'raddhâ existed in India long before the time when Christianity arose, still longer before it began to influence the thought of this country even upon the hypothesis of Dr. Lorinser. It is, of course, not at all unlikely that the doctrine underwent some development in India, that it did not originally come forth in the shape in which we find it even in the Bhagavadgîtâ. I have not thought it necessary here to consider the question from this point of view, but nothing could surprise me less than that this should be so. At the same time, it is scarcely necessary to point out, that this is very different from the theory propounded by Dr. Lorinser—that the Bhagavadgîtâ borrowed this doctrine from Christianity. Indeed it seems to me, that the fact, if it be one, of the doctrine being traceable in its gradual development in the extant Vedic literature would negative that theory even more strongly than the mere existence of traces of the doctrine in that literature.*

The question, however, as between the Gîtâ and Christianity does not rest there. Speaking of the "independent activity of the Original Christian Church." Dr. Straus says—
 "And the *doctrines of faith*, of the forgiveness of sins, of the true keeping holy of the Sabbath, which we find interoven with the narratives of the miraculous cures in the New

* I have thus far referred only to the orthodox Brahminical works. But in the Buddhistic Sutta Nipata also, we have abundant, I was going to say superabundant, evidence of the recognition of the value of faith in India. See Sir M. C. Swamy's Sutta Nipata pp. 21 26, 63, and sundry other places. And as to *credo ■ intelligam* listen to the following from the same work (p. 49) "one who being diligent (and) wise *believes* in the law of the saints for attaining Nibbana will by listening constantly (to them) acquire knowledge.

Testament, the thought that death is but a sleep which we find brought out in those of the raising of the dead, are *nothing but so many Christian ideas breathed as a newer and better soul* into those narratives."* Considering only that part of this sentence which is pertinent to our present inquiry, I understand this to mean that the idea of faith was a doctrine added by Christianity to the old Jewish stock of ideas. Now if this is so, mark the conclusion according to Dr. Lorinser's principles. The absence of all trace of the ideas of S'raddhâ and Bhakti "anywhere else in heathendom" than in the Gîtâ, is urged by Dr. Lorinser as a ground for holding that the ideas "have been taken over from Christianity." Is it not then open to an opponent of Dr. Lorinser to contend, that as the doctrine of S'raddhâ is not found anywhere in Judaism, "there appears to be no doubt that it is not an originally Christian representation, but that it has been taken over from Hinduism?" I maintain, that as an *argumentum ad hominem* this argument is of great value. And not only so, but I think that even as a general argument, it is entitled to some weight—more especially in view of those considerations which I shall presently proceed to set forth. And this introduces me to the next very important question in this investigation.†

That question is one which has been already hinted at as having never received even a cursory glance from Dr. Lorinser, the question, namely, whether it is not possible that Christianity may have borrowed from Hinduism, and

* Life of Jesus I. 203.

† I do not know by what arguments "Dr. Weber among others has partly demonstrated" that the doctrine of S'raddhâ has been taken over from Christianity by Hinduism. I do not, therefore, say anything more about them than this, that I think those arguments, whatever they may be, are most likely put out of court by the facts to which we have drawn attention in the text.

not *vice versa*. The question is undoubtedly a large one, and as important as it is large. I do not profess to have viewed ■ in all its bearings. I do not propose to discuss it here at any length. For, indeed, I do not consider ■ necessary or expedient to complicate the present question by such a matter, enveloped, as to a great extent it must be, in doubt. But as it has been strongly suggested to my mind by the method of argument which Dr. Lorjuser has adopted, and as it has a very important bearing upon the central question, I think it necessary to offer a few observations upon it from my point of view.

The first general observation, then, to be made on this aspect of the question is, that every body must admit that philosophy was cultivated from very early times in India. Professor Wilson who expresses a 'shrewd suspicion' as to the originality of the *Gîtâ* admits the contention of Wilkins and Schlegel to that effect;* and it is, indeed, a matter beyond the reach of doubt. Now the known character of our people makes it, to my mind, much more likely, that in such intercourse as there was between them and foreigners, the latter carried away with them some knowledge derived from the former, than that foreign thought so far influenced the higher intellects in India as to leave its traces in their most orthodox works.† And if the Greeks and other peoples who came into contact with India did learn some things in the country, what more natural than that such new ideas as they[‡] learnt should go towards the formation of that system which arose soon afterwards? This seems to me to be ren-

* Wilson's *Essays on Sanskrit Literature* &c. Vol. III. p. 103.

† Professor Weber seems to question the truth of this proposition (*Indische Studien* Vol. II. 397 as translated for me by my kind friend Mr. S'ankar Pāṇḍurang Pandit) But his argument appears to me to be, in great measure, a *petitio principii*.

dered more likely by the fact, that about the time of Alexander's invasion, Buddhism was agitating Indian religious thought to its core; and such a new system (in which, by the way, several of the so-called characteristic doctrines of Christianity may be found anticipated) was very likely to leave some impression on the minds of the foreigners. Accordingly Dean Milman has said, that "it is by no means improbable that tenets which had their origin in India have for many centuries predominated in or materially affected the Christianity of the whole Western World."^a In further confirmation of this view, we may refer to the accounts, not indeed well vouched for, but still much better vouched for than Professor Weber's imaginary journeys of Brâhmins to Asia Minor, and probably as well vouched for as the legends about St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew and all the rest of them, we may, I say, usefully refer to the accounts of Pythagoras travelling to India and learning there some of the doctrines of the Indian philosophers of the day.† The Essenes also, a sect flourishing at the time of Jesus, are supposed to have had some intercourse with the East, whence they are said to have partly derived their inspiration. And according to Dean Milman, the Jewish doctrine of inheritance of disease by children from their parents may be clearly traced to India.‡ These being some of the facts bearing upon this branch of our investigation, facts, too, admitted by a learned Christian historian, ■ appears to me, that the theory of Indian philosophy having borrowed from Christianity, based as it is upon the very slender and very deceptive grounds stated by Dr.

^a Milman's *Hist. of Christ.* II. 31. And see also Wheeler's *India* III. 257; and Wilson's *Vishnu Purân*, Preface p. viii.

† See Colebrooke's *Essays* I. 419. Thomson's *Gîtâ Introd.* xxviii.

‡ Milman I. 153, 252.

Lorinser and others, is not only unproved but highly improbable. On the contrary, the conclusion to which the facts and probabilities of the case seem to point as more probable is one which the adherents of that theory have not condescended even to glance at, namely, that it is Christianity which has borrowed from Hinduism, and not Hinduism which has borrowed from Christianity.

We now come to the last of Dr. Lorinser's propositions ■ stated above. Dr. Lorinser evidently thinks, that there are no means available for fixing a terminus before which the Gītā must have been composed except the date of its commentator S'ankarāchārya. As to that date ■ few remarks have been made already. But since the generally received date ■ the eighth century after Christ, and since Dr. Lorinser seems to expect that a later century may yet prove to be the one in which S'ankar flourished, it is as well to draw attention to the fact that the Kādambari of Bāṇabhaṭṭa does enable us to fix a considerably earlier period as a terminus before which the Gītā must have been composed. For in that work one of the equivoques we meet with runs as follows: महाभारतमिषानन्तर्गतकर्णनानन्दिनरम्*—which may be thus rendered:—[The royal palace] in which people were gratified by hearing innumerable songs [was] like the Mahābhārat, in which Nar (Arjun) was gratified by hearing the Anantagītā. Anantagītā clearly stands here for the Bhagavadgītā. Now Bāṇabhaṭṭa flourished about the middle of the seventh century A. C.† In his time the Mahābhārat was looked upon with

* See p. 182. (Tārānāth's Ed.).

† See Dr. F. E. Hall's Preface to his *Vācavadattā* p. 17. ■ will there be seen that Bāṇabhaṭṭa's date depends on that of the great Harshavardhan. And the date of that prince, though pronounced by Mr. Fergusson (see J. R. A. S. (N. S.) Vol. IV. p. ■ and Indian Antiquary Vol. II. 83a) to be "fixed within very narrow limits,"

almost, if not altogether, the same feeling of veneration, with which it is looked upon in our own day. Of this work the Gītā had already come to be regarded as a genuine portion. What interval, then, must have elapsed between the composition of the Gītā and the seventh century of the Christian Era? But let us go on to a somewhat earlier period. I will not refer to the quotation in the Panchatantra from the Bhagavadgītā,* for I do not agree with Dr. Kern about the value of the Panchatantra in such an inquiry.† But we have exceedingly good warrant for holding that the Gītā is older than Kālidās. And first let us look at the Raghuvans'a. Towards the beginning of the eighth canto of that work, we find expressions and ideas which coincide remarkably with expressions and ideas to be found in the Bhagavadgītā. And the inference hence derivable is obviously much stronger than the inferences which Dr. Lorinser has endeavoured to draw from the coincidences, or supposed coincidences, on which he relies. Similar coincidences may be found also in other parts of the works of Kālidās. But the most important of all is to be found in the Kumār Sambhav VI. 67.‡ It is impossible, I think, to mistake the allusion to the Gītā there. And taking all these passages together, it becomes, I think, quite

ought, according to the late Dr. Bhāṇu Dāji, to be placed nearly a century earlier (See J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII. 250) I believe that Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar also, from a consideration of the Vallabhi and Chālukya plates, is inclined to the view that the accepted date of Harshavardhan should be reconsidered.

* See p. 104 (Kosgarten's Ed.). The quotation ■ not to be found in the edition in the Bombay Series of Sanskrit Classics.

† See our Bhartṛihari, Introduction p. ix.

‡ See Mallināth's commentary on this. Among the other parts of Kālidās referred ■ in the text I would specially note Raghu. Canto X. Stanza XXXI. of that canto, more particularly, should be compared with Gītā IV. 9 and III. 22. And see Dr. Lorinser's note ■ p. 288.

evident, that the *Gītā* must have preceded *Kālidās* by a considerable period. Now it is true that the date of *Kālidās* is by no means well settled, certainly not as well settled as that of *Bāṇabhaṭṭa*; still no scholar, I believe, now contends, that *Kālidās* lived after the sixth century A. C.; and even arguing upon the basis of that date, we are entitled to infer a considerable antiquity for the *Bhagavadgītā*. If any of the earlier dates proposed should prove correct,* Dr. Lorinser's theory will be at once put out of court.

There is another argument on this part of the question, which is not of great weight, but is, I think, entitled to some consideration. *Bhaṭṭa Kumāril* is said to have flourished about the close of the seventh century A. C.† A considerable period before him must have lived the author of the best known commentary on the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*, namely *S'abar Svāmī*. A considerable period, again, must have elapsed between *S'abar Svāmī* and *Jaimini* the author of the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*. The *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* on several occasions mention *Bādarāyaṇ*, who is probably to be identified, and who by *Colebrooke* is identified, with the author of the *Sūtras* of the *Uttar Mīmāṃsā*.‡ These *Sūtras* in their turn mention *Jaimini*, and the two works may therefore be taken as probably contemporaneous with one another. Now among the *Sūtras* of the *Uttar Mīmāṃsā*, there are several which refer to certain *Smṛitis* as authorities for propositions which they lay

* See *Bhartṛhari* (Bomb. Series of Sansk. Classics) Introduction p. xii. and references there given.

† See *Indian Antiquary* Vol. I. 369. See also *Windichmann's Senkar*.

‡ *Essays* (Madras Ed.) Vol. I. 296. I am bound to state, however, that I have not succeeded in tracing to the *Brahma Sūtras* any of the doctrines ascribed ■ *Bādarāyaṇ* in the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*. And *Madhusūdan Sarasvatī's Prasthānabhed* shows that there were several

down; and in the case of about five of these Sâtras, I have found that the commentaries of S'ankarâchârya and Madhvâchârya, and Râmânujâchârya, differing, as is well known, on the most fundamental points, agree in setting out passages from the Gîtâ as the Smritis referred to. We may from this infer, though I admit that the inference is not a strong one, that the Gîtâ was composed before the Brahma Sâtras. If so, then according to what is stated above, we have the Gîtâ prior to the Brahma Sâtras, the Brahma Sâtras contemporaneous with the Mīmāṃsâ Sâtras, the Mīmāṃsâ Sâtras prior to S'abar, S'abar prior to Kumâril, and Kumâril prior to the close of the seventh century A. C. And if this is so, I think the inference can very fairly be drawn, that the Gîtâ is sufficiently old to negative the theory of Dr. Lortz. It may be added, that the expression *वैदिक* occurs in the Gîtâ, but, according to all interpretations, not as standing for the Sâtras of Bâdarâyaṇ. I do not think, however, that any inference can be safely drawn from this circumstance.

As stated above, this argument is not of much weight. There is, however, an argument, based upon a slightly different series of Mīmāṃsâ authorities, which is, I contend, entitled to much more weight. Thus we have I. Kumâril Svâmi (seventh century A. C.) II. A considerable time prior to him, S'abar Svâmi III. A long time before him, Upavarsha, whom S'abar describes in his Mīmāṃsâ Bhâṣya as "Bhagavân Upavarsha"* IV. A considerable time before him, the Brahma Sâtras, for as appears from S'ankar's commentary on Brahma Sâtra III., 3, 58, Upavarsha was the author of a work on the S'ârîrak Mīmāṃsâ† V. A considerable time

* P. 13 (Bibl. Ind.)

† See too Colebrooke Essays I. 332. Upavarsha is again mentioned by S'ankar at p. 291 of his Bhâṣya. I do not know the grounds

before the *Brahma Sūtras*, the *Bhagavadgītā*. Upon this last item of the series a few more words may be added here. Under *Brahma Sūtra* I., 3, 6. S'ankar cites as the *Smṛiti* referred ■ *Gītā* XVIII. 61; Madhva cites X. 20 and XV. 13; and Rāmānuj X. 15, ■ and XVIII. 61, 62—which is notable as combining the passages cited both by S'ankar and Madhva. On I., 3, ■ S'ankar and Madhva quote XV. 6, 12; and Rāmānuj quotes XIV., 2. These two instances are of comparatively little moment. The three that follow appear to me, I own, all but conclusive to show that the *Gītā* was before the mind of the author of the *Brahma Sūtras*. Under II., 3, 45 all the commentators cite *Gītā* XV. 7, and the context seems to me to fully justify them. Again under IV., 1, 10. the commentators refer to the same passage, S'ankar and Rāmānuj to *Gītā* VI. 11, and Madhva to VI., 13. Lastly under IV. 2, 22 all the commentators refer to the same passage, that at the close of *Gītā* Chap. VIII. In all three of these cases, the context seems to me to show clearly, that the commentators are perfectly right in considering the *Gītā* as the *Smṛiti* which the author of the *Sūtras* had in his mind. The inference, therefore, when one comes to look into the matter, is immensely stronger than I have described it above; for we have not to rest simply upon the commentators' authority on the point, though their concurrence would itself be a powerful fact.

In considering these arguments and their bearing upon the question before us, it must never be forgotten, that they lead us no further than the limit *after* which the *Gītā* could not have been composed. We get nothing positive, not even any hint, as to when precisely it was composed, nor even as to how long before the limit. While it does furnish

upon which Weber and Thomson have assigned the *Vedānta Sūtras* ■ the third century A. C. (See Thomson pp. xlvii. ■ seqq.)

us with a *terminus ad quem*, ■ has not even the tendency to show us a *terminus a quo*. Professor Bhāṇḍārkar thinks, that the style of the S'ābar Bhāṣhya belongs to nearly the same period to which the style of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣhya belongs. As far as I have looked at the two works, I am inclined to accept this opinion. And if it is correct, then upon the foregoing argument the Gītā must have been composed at the latest somewhere about the fourth century B. C. Furthermore, we have also to remember, that S'ānkar was one of the later commentators on the Brahma Sūtras. Colebrooke states that a commentary on the Brahma Sūtras is ascribed to the sage Bandhāyan,* though his work is not now forthcoming. And this circumstance has also to be weighed in the consideration of the question before us. Nor must it be forgotten that even on the Bhagavad-gītā itself, S'ānkarāchārya, as stated before, was not the earliest commentator. On the contrary, from the introduction to his Bhāṣhya, it would appear that several writers before him had interpreted the Gītā, and in modes which did not coincide with his—a circumstance which would seem to indicate, that the sectaries had been, already before S'ānkar's time, at work upon the Gītā, in order to be able to claim for their own opinions the sanction of that book. If so, it becomes probable, that the Gītā had, long before S'ānkar's time, begun to be regarded as a work of very high authority; and the interval between its composition and that of S'ānkar's commentary must have been even larger than the five centuries which Dr. Lorinser reluctantly allows. However that may be, it appears to me to result from what has been stated above, that Dr. Lorinser's position on this last point is as untenable as his position on the other points,

* See Essays Vol. I. p. 332.

and that the indications which the evidence before us gives are strongly against his final conclusion.

We have now finished the observations we have to make upon the several propositions laid down by Dr. Lorinser with regard to the Bhagavadgītā and upon the arguments by which he has sought to fortify them. But before proceeding to the few other points which we propose to notice, it may be advisable to consider what is said on our subject by Mr. Thomson, to whom we are indebted for a very good English translation of the Gītā. In his Introduction to that translation, and in the notes which he has added to it, there are observations interspersed which furnish a hint as to Mr. Thomson's opinion about the age of the Bhagavadgītā. I am not aware, however, that he has explicitly stated the chronological limits within which he supposes the Gītā to have been composed in any other passage than the following extracted from his Introduction. After stating that a "burning sun" and a "hot wind" drove not only the Brāhman but also the Kshatriya to asceticism, and that "in virtue of the powers acquired" by such asceticism, the Kshatriyas attempted to wrest from the Brāhmanas the exclusive right to minister to the spiritual necessities of the people, Mr. Thomson proceeds:—"The Brahmin trembled at this new danger, and no longer able to seek support in any of the other castes,* had recourse to conciliatory means, and the way was thus prepared for the teachings of the Bhagavadgītā. Such however were not the only causes which gave rise to the Karmayoga doctrines of our poem; and a long interval of perhaps several centuries must have intervened between the Yoga of Patanjali and the new branch of that school. Indeed if we may place the probable date of the Yoga Sūtras between 400 B. C. and 100 B. C., we must consider that of

* Mr. Thomson does not state why this was so,

the Bhagavadgītā to lie between 100 B. C. and 300 A. D. But this only by the way.* As above stated, this is the least vague passage on the subject of the date of the Gītā which I have been able to find in Mr. Thomson's book. Let us examine it. In the first place, I must take leave to observe, that I am not quite satisfied with the arguments by which Mr. Thomson makes out that the system of Patanjali is posterior to the rise of Buddhism. But as neither necessary nor desirable to go into that question on this occasion, I shall for the purposes of the present argument proceed upon the assumption that that posteriority is made out. But upon the other point, as to the priority of Patanjali's system to the Bhagavadgītā, I must join issue with Mr. Thomson. The only reason which he has adduced for his proposition is based upon that bit of Indian religious history which is contained in the passage above set out. Mr. Thomson says, indeed, that "there is every reason to believe" the Gītā to be several centuries later than Patanjali.† But he does not state any other "reason" than that above referred to. Now that being so, the question arises—from what materials has Mr. Thomson constructed this interesting historical narrative? I am not aware of any evidence which shows that the Kshatriyas, as a body, had at any period of our ancient history begun to encroach on the domain of the Brāhmins, either in consequence of Patanjali's Yog system or of anything else.‡ The case of King Janak is always treated, so to say, as standing alone. And no less so

* Introd. p. xlii.

† P. lxxxii.

‡ Mr. Thomson's broad inference to this effect finds but a narrow basis in Gītā III. 21 on which he rests it (see p. 23 of his translation note 27.)

■ that of Vis'āmitra.* Those stories do not seem to me to show that "the Kshatriya was allured from the toils of an active life to the enjoyments of profitable repose"; while the manner in which they are treated, whenever allusion ■ made to them, appear to indicate that one main point marked about them was their exceptional character. And when Mr. Thomson, in his graphic account of the religious revolution he describes, speaks of "kingdoms and principalities being abandoned to their own guidance states left defenceless" and so forth, one is almost tempted to say that he is here evolving history out of his inner consciousness. He certainly has shown no scrap of evidence, valuable or otherwise, for that statement. As Mr. Matthew Arnold says with regard to a somewhat similar matter in connexion with modern Biblical criticism, Mr. Thomson's narrative is at the best "plausible"; but it is, I submit, quite impossible to allow a whole historic superstructure like Mr. Thomson's theory to be based on such a plausible which is, in other words, an excessively weak—foundation. But I do not think, that we need rest content with merely this negative argument on this subject. For I think that we have some slight evidence which points the other way. And first, a system called the Yog is mentioned several times in the Gītā,† and in some places as distinguished from what is there called the Sāṅkhya system. Is this Yog system identical with what we now know under that name, namely the system of Patañjali? Commenting on Gītā II. 39 Mr. Thomson says, that "undoubtedly the names by which the two schools of philosophy were known are here intended,

* Mr. Thomson refers to this in the note at p. xlii. where there is some misprint, I think. It may be remarked also that both the stories are of very great antiquity.

† See, for instance, Gītā. II. 39, V. 4, 5 among other passages.

in the words Sāṅkhya and Yoga."* This is not perfectly clear; but if it means, that in the passage in question, the systems of philosophy now known to us — Sāṅkhya and Yog are referred to, that is not only not indubitable, but is, I think, highly improbable. For if we consider the Sāṅkhya doctrine as expounded in the verses preceding the verse above referred to, we shall find it, I think, somewhat difficult to identify it with any portion of the current Sāṅkhya philosophy. And similarly the doctrine that the fruit of action should never be regarded, that men should preserve equanimity of mind whatever the results of their acts may be — these are doctrines which are most prominent in the Yog system as understood in the Gītā, yet I think, we shall search for them in vain throughout the Sūtras of our Yog Philosophy, namely the Sūtras of Patanjali. Again, when we are told, as we are in Gītā V. 4, 5, that he sees truly who sees no difference between the Sāṅkhya and the Yog systems, I think it is almost impossible to admit that the Sāṅkhya and Yog here meant are identical with the systems now known to us under those names. And if this is so, if it is true, that a Yog system is mentioned in the Gītā, and that system is different from the Yog system of Patanjali, what is the conclusion as to the relative dates of the Bhagavad-gītā and Patanjali which is hence derivable? Upon the principle underlying some of the arguments of the late Professor Goldstücker in his very elaborate and learned work on Pāṇini, we may conclude that the Gītā must have preceded the Yog Sūtras.† I must own, however,

* P. 14, note 21.

† See Pāṇini p. 130. "Is it possible to assume" asks Prof. Goldstücker "that Pāṇini could have known this sense of the word *Āraṇyaka*, when he is altogether silent about it; and if ■

that I am not quite satisfied with the soundness of the principle in question. I am unable to persuade myself, that the argument in the case before us, for instance, entitles us to conclude more than this—that when the Gîtâ was composed, the name Yog was probably not the name of Patanjali's system of philosophy.* Such an inference in the present case, would, I think, be somewhat strong, on account of the association of Sāṅkhya with Yog; for these two words so intimately connected with each other in recent times would not have been used as they are used in the Gîtâ, if they had designated at the time of the Gîtâ the same things that they designate now. This inference, however, standing by itself, does not carry us very far in our search for the relative dates of the Gîtâ and Patanjali. Let us, therefore, look at another point in connexion with the two works. In Gîtâ VI. 34, ■ we have some observations on the unsteadiness of the mind and the means of making it steady. The same point is discussed in Yog Sūtras I. 12-16. Now I think, the difference between the two is one which lies upon the surface. And it is this. In the one we trace the age of systems; in the other the age of poetry. In the one we have definition, division, a fitting in of the particular part into the rest of the system. In the other we have no such attempt at systematizing at all; but immediately after

did not know it, that the works so called could have already existed in his time?" The *non acquiescit* appears to me to lie ■ this last point of the argument.

* That this ■ not hypercritical may be seen from this that Vedāntins (Goldstücker p. 150) were of old called Aupanishads. (See our Bhartṛhari Introd. p. vi.) Sāṅkhya was also called Samikshya (Māgh. II. 59) and Nyāya ■ otherwise called Ānvikshiki, and, perhaps, वाक्योक्त्य also [see S'ankar on Chhândogya Upanishad p. 476;] but also Kaiyaṭ on Mahābhāshya p. 16 (Banāras. Ed.).

a merely cursory hint as to this matter is dropped, the discussion branches off into a very different subject. Having regard to these circumstances, and to the fact, that with respect to its unsystematic and poetical character,* the Gîtâ is one of a class of works--the Upanishads being of much the same nature—I think it not quite unsafe to conclude that the Gîtâ was probably older than the Yog Sâtras. At all events, I think, the argument is perfectly good to this extent, that it shows, that the priority of the latter over the former cannot be taken, as Mr. Thomson seems inclined to take it, as a mere matter of course.

There are sundry other passages in Mr. Thomson's work referring to this point of the date of the Gîtâ. In one place he takes the last line of the 67th Stanza of Chapter XVIII. to refer to the S'âiv sect; and says, that when the epoch of their battles with the Vaishnav party shall have been determined, "some approximation will have been made to the date of the composition of the Bhagavadgîtâ."† But in the first place, I do not see the necessity of interpreting, as Mr. Thomson interprets, the 'me' in Chap. XVIII. St. 67 to mean specifically Vishnu or Krishna. It may mean the Supreme Being without reference to any particular manifestation of Him; and by His 'revilers' may be intended all godless people, not necessarily people of any particular sect. And in the second place, this opinion of Mr. Thomson's is not easily reconcilable with the opinion which he has also elsewhere pronounced, that the author of the Gîtâ was probably a contemporary of

* Compare as ■ this Thomson's Introduction ■ xxi. and also Muir S. T. III. 176 note. ■ cannot be urged that there was no room for a full treatment of the subject, for there is a very lengthy description just before of the true mode of attaining the Yog.

† P. 121.

Kālidās.* For in Kālidās, at any rate, we have evidence not of sectarian quarrel, but of peace and amity.† And thirdly it may be observed—though in the present state of our knowledge the observation ■ not of much value—that the epoch of the battles between the S’aivs and Vaishnavs is, I believe, generally placed at about the seventh or eighth centuries of the Christian Era, about the time in fact when S’ankar the great commentator on the Gītā flourished. Upon the whole, I think, we cannot safely accept Mr. Thomson’s conclusion upon this point. In the same note Mr. Thomson also suggests, that “our poem must have been written either before or after the religious revolution of Buddha, at a period when the hierarchy were supreme in power, and science and philosophy were forced, as in the days of Galileo and the Inquisition, to creep in by stealth.”‡ This is by no means very definite. Mr. Thomson afterwards speaks of the author as “probably warned already by the defeat of Buddhism.” But what is the meaning of “the defeat of Buddhism?” From the time of As’ok to that of Harshavardhan, we have evidence to show that Buddhism flourished in India with scarcely any vicissitudes of fortune, and was, in some instances, patronized by Indian princes side by

* P. xlv., and p. cxiv. At p. xlv. Mr. Thomson speaks of the age of Kālidās as that in which “the elegant and measured S’lokas of a Vālmiki were revived.” What ■ the meaning of this, and what is the evidence for it?

† Compare Kumār. Canto II. with Raghu. Canto X. and Canto I. St. 1 and see Kumār. Canto VII. St. 44. Compare also Bhartṛihari (Bomb. Series of Sanak. Classics) Introd. p. xix.

‡ P. 121. To Gītā XVIII. 67, from which Mr. Thomson draws this inference, we have a parallel in Manu I. 103 which is, perhaps, even more narrow.

side with Brāhmanism.* I cannot, therefore, understand to what period, according to this conjecture of Mr. Thomson's, the Gītā will have to be assigned. In another place, Mr. Thomson again argues, that "this poem was composed after the rise of Buddhism."† But here also, I think it difficult to accept either his premises or his conclusion. He again gives us a short historical narrative without so much as referring to the evidence upon which it is based. And ■ is further noteworthy, that whereas Mr. Thomson has said in his Introduction‡ that the Gītā was composed when the Kshatriyas were trying to wrest spiritual superiority out of the hands of the Brāhmins, he talks here as if the Brāhmins had already triumphed, and had compelled the Kshatriyas to make common cause with them against the "growing power" of the Vais'yas and the Ś'ādras. Such are the contradictions into which people run, when they leave the *terra firma* of tangible evidence for the aerial ways, if I may so say, of imaginative history. It is unnecessary, I humbly conceive, to examine in detail Mr. Thomson's remarks in the passage now under consideration. It is enough to say, in the first place, that his statements of fact are without foundation; and secondly, that the inference which he draws from the passage of the Gītā does not arise from it at all.

We now proceed to a few points which appear to us ■ be of some value in this investigation, but which have not been considered by either Dr. Lorinser or Mr. Thomson. And first, the metre of the Gītā in some of its stanzas calls

* Compare Kādambart (Thānāth's Ed.) pp. 133 and 384; and the copperplates recently deciphered as to which, see *inter alia* J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X. p. 76; Indian Antiquary Vol. IV. pp. 107, 174.

† P. 67.

‡ See p. xciii of this *Essay* *supra*.

for a few remarks. If we take a rapid survey of the poetical portion of Sanskrit Literature, we shall find, I think, a certain development in respect of metrical regularity from the Vedic age to the age of what is called the classical literature. In the Veda, it is impossible to trace a rigid scheme to which verses of the same metre shall be found to adhere. There is, of course, a general similarity, and with the assistance of the *iyāḍipāraṅga** and other metrical fictions, as they may be called, we can generally obtain the requisite number of syllables. But what we cannot obtain is the uniform collocation of the long and short syllables. A verse that is perfect according to the modern rigid schemes of the several metres, is not the rule but the exception. Now if we come to the Upanishads, we still find these same metrical irregularities, but they become, I believe, perceptibly fewer in number. Many of the Upanishad verses are perfectly regular according to the modern schemes, and may be very smoothly chanted in the manner in which classical Sanskrit verses can be chanted. But although the number of irregularities has fallen off, complete regularity has not yet been secured at this stage of metrical progress. Next after the Upanishads, or about the same time, come the *Gītā* and other works of that class. Here, too, we have irregularities, but very much fewer in number than those we meet with in the Vedic Samhitās, and perhaps, also fewer than those in the Upanishads. And if we look next at the whole body of classical literature, we find there the irregularities conspicuous by their all but total absence. This result, which we may obtain by a rapid review of Sanskrit Poetry will, I think, be found to be, in some measure, strengthened by the

* Compare Pingal Chhandas Sūtra III. 2, and Max Müller's Translation of the Rigved., Introduction *passim*.

testimony of the indigenous technical writers on Sanskrit Prosody. The chief, and indeed the only, writer to be consulted on this matter, is of course Pingal, whose Chhandas Sūtras have been recently published with the commentary of Halāyudh in the Bibliotheca Indica. Now the fourteenth Sūtra of the first chapter of Pingal is ॐ which, according to the commentator Halāyudh, is an Adhikār Sūtra—applicable, as the commentator says, throughout the “S’āstra.” And the meaning of it is, that when nothing specific is stated, long and short syllables may occur indiscriminately. Now as a matter of fact nothing specific is to be found till we come to Chapter IV. Sūtra 15. In the metres mentioned down to that Sūtra, therefore, there is complete freedom as to long and short syllables. Now Chapter IV. Sūtra 8 says that thereafter the “Jaukik”—or as it may be called, classical—section begins; the Vedic metres having been treated of in the Sūtras preceding it. And in the whole of that section the particular order in which the long and short syllables must occur is everywhere stated. We know, too, that these fixed schemes of the several metre are practically observed in the classical literature, as they are theoretically laid down, with great rigour.* And from all this, I think, it is not a very bold proceeding to conclude, that those works in which we observe any remarkable number of deviations from the fixed metrical schemes may be placed out of the pale of the classical literature, and consequently, I may add, some considerable time before the beginning of the Christian Era. For Pingal himself, an author, of very respectable antiquity, as he is mentioned in the S’ābar Bhāṣya† about which we have spoken a word before. And even in the

* Compare the verse ॐ कुर्याच्चन्दीमङ्गं विप्रमेयं which is quoted in a different form by Mallināth on Raghu. XIX. 23.

† P. 16. (Bibl. Ind. Ed.).

Manu Sanhitā, we have a rigorous adherence to the metrical schemes which is far greater than that to be found in the Gītā.*

I may observe that the question of the metrical regularity of Vedic verses has been copiously discussed by European scholars of great note. It is not necessary, however, for our present topic to enter into that discussion. Nor have I studied the Vedic metres sufficiently to do so. It seems to me, I confess, that the irregularities which manifest themselves in different degrees at different stages of the post-Vedic literature raise a sort of presumption in favour of the existence of similar irregularities in greater abundance in the Vedic literature. And the discussion of the question of Vedic metres may, perhaps, be in some degree advanced towards a settlement, if the later literature is considered. I understand Prof. Max Müller's opinion to be in favour of holding, what is assumed in our argument above, that the irregularities in Vedic verses are not the result of mislections,† as some scholars seem to contend, but are genuine characteristics of Vedic verse.

If now we turn our attention to the style and language of the Gītā, we shall find, I think, further corroboration for the view which we have here taken of its antiquity. The style throughout impresses me as archaic in its simplicity. You have none of that exuberance of figure and trope which marks the classical literature. You have no long and involved compounds; no puzzling syntactical constructions;

* See the passages of Manu cited in the Digest of Hindu Law by West and Bühler Vol. I. Introd. p. xxix. and the older passages (also there cited) on which Manu's are based. With these compare the Stanzas in Gītā Chap. XI.

† Translation of the Rigved by Max Müller Vol. I. Introd. pp. xxvi. et seq.

no attempt at securing the jingle of like sounds.* We have, on the contrary, those repetitions of single phrases which have been noted before as characteristic of archaic writings;† we have a few instances of inartificial grammatical constructions;‡ and once we find that particle§ ¶, which is well-known as occurring in the epic poems, and in the Vedic literature in the form ¶, but which, I think, never occurs in either form in the classical literature. There are sundry words also, which occur in the Gītā in senses other than those which they bear in the classical literature.¶ Of course, this statement must be taken subject to some allowance, as it is almost impossible for anybody to say, that any given word has ceased to have a particular sense attached to it at a particular stage of Sanskrit literature. Nevertheless, I believe I may say, that the following words in the Gītā bear different senses from those which they bear in the classical literature. संज्ञा (I. 7) मन्त्रा (II. 14) मन्त्र (II. 16) भग्न (II. 54) संमद (III. 20 and 25) मत्त (IV. 7) म्याक्ते (IX. 14) दैग (X. 18; also IX. 5) ब्रह्म (XIV. 8) भक्तोक्तुम् ¶ (XVI. 2) संज्ञित (XI. 1). Some other words might be easily added to this list. But these will suffice to show the truth of what has been asserted above. There is but one other word on which, perhaps, a special remark deserves to be made.

* Mr. Thomson has noted one instance at VI. 23. A similar instance is noted by Mr. Muir in the *Rigved*. See *Muir Sanskrit Texts* Vol. V. p. 165.

† *Supra* p. lxi.

‡ See Gītā II. 59. X. 16, 19 among other instances.

§ Chap. II. 9 where, also, the repetition of उक्तुम् is inartistic.

¶ Compare the observations upon this point of the late Professor Goldstücker in his *Pāṇini* p. 128.

¶ This, indeed, is altogether an anomalous word.

That word is **च** It occurs twice in the *Gītā*, first in I. 32 and secondly in XIV. 9. Annotating on the latter stanza, Mr. Thomson writes:—“Lassen has a long irrelevant note on the force of **च**, very useful in a grammar of the Vedas, but of doubtful value for a poem of the date of ours. Suffice it to say, that as he has shown, the fanciful explanation of the scholiasts must be rejected, and the common use of the particle throughout the ‘Mahābhārata,’ and other works* of like style and approximate date, be accepted, namely, that of a confirmatory expletive.”† This is a rather remarkable note. In the first place, Mr. Thomson seems to think, that the Mahābhārata belongs all to one age, a position for which very few, if any, advocates will be found in these days. But if he does not think so, it is somewhat difficult to understand the precise meaning of his final observation. “Like style and approximate date” to the Mahābhārata means nothing unless any precise part of the Bhārata is specified. And if Mr. Thomson has no objection to the *Gītā* being considered as of “like style and approximate date” to the oldest parts of the Mahābhārata, I have no quarrel with his remark. For I think Professor Goldstücker was perfectly right in contending that the oldest portions of the Bhārata are older even than the rise of Buddhism.† And when Mr. Thomson speaks of Lassen’s note as “of doubtful value for a poem of the date of ours,” he seems to forget that the subject of the note ■ one of the material elements in the consideration of the date of our poem, and cannot therefore be disposed of in that off-hand style. What we have to mark and consider is that **च** appears to be used here as a conjunctive particle, as it ■ used in the Vedic literature, and not as a disjunctive

* P. 93. As to the ‘fanciful explanation’ Conf. West and Bühler Vol. I. p. xxx. Introd.

† Westminster-Review (April 1868) p. 420.

which I believe, is the only use to which it is put in the classical literature.

A few words are necessary upon the grammatical structure of the language of the Gītā. Now ■ will not be by any means difficult ■ show, that there are several grammatical forms in the Gītā which are not used, and cannot correctly be used, in the classical literature, and which are not sanctioned by the precepts of the "grammatical saints." Thus प्रसविष्यन् (III. 10) संयमनाम् (X. 29) ज्ञाप्य भवम् (XI. 54) ईदृक्तेति (XI. 41). प्रियायार्हेति (XI. 44 dissolved into प्रियायाः अर्हेति)—these are some of the forms which occur in the Gītā, which would be quite unallowable in the classical literature. And it may, therefore, be plausibly argued upon the strength of these forms, that the Gītā must be assigned to an epoch considerably older than that of the classical literature, and therefore many years prior to the Christian Era. At the same time, I must state, that while this is a favourite argument with European scholars,* it is not one which is quite satisfactory. My very able and learned friend Professor B. G. Bhaṅḍārkar is of opinion that the argument proves nothing. And he relies on the fact, that the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, for instance, which is undoubtedly a very old work, is in its grammar scrupulously exact, and strictly adheres to the rules laid down in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Now this must be admitted to be a very remarkable circumstance, worthy of notice in considering the weight to be attached to the argument from grammatical anomalies. We may further add that even in the admittedly later literature, we several times find grammatical forms often quite as anomalous as any that the Gītā or any other archaic work can show. Thus no less a writer than Kālidāsa has more than once the form अर,† which,

* See West and Bühler's Digest Vol. I. Introd. xvii. or Indian Antiquary I. 182.

† Kumār. I. 35, Raghu. XIV. 23.

according to Pāṇini II. 4, 52, cannot be correct. True the commentators,* as ■ their wont, resort to all manner of shifts in order ■ explain the form. But there can, I apprehend, be little doubt that Kālidās has there used a form which Pāṇini has prohibited. The same form recurs, strange to say, even in the S'ankar Vijaya of Mādhavāchārya.† Kālidās has further the following forms which are not allowable in the classical literature—कामयान् and तस्थिषन् and जग्मिषन् ‡ And it would not, I think, be very difficult to cull a few similar instances from other writers. In Pāṇini V. 2 89, it is laid down that the word परिपन्थी is used कन्वति; yet the passages are numerous in which we find modern poets using the word.§ In fact, the Siddhānta Kaumudī shows several cases where the ingenuity of grammarians is very much exercised to explain what, according to the established rules of grammar, would be errors.|| And the only explanation available in some cases is निष्कृत्वाः कयः, or कयस्तु बहुलं प्रयुज्जते,¶ or something to that effect. It would seem, therefore, that the rule which has been commonly adopted in this matter is one which fails both in the anvaya and the vyatirek, as our native logicians would put it. The induction is incorrect both ways. There are unquestionably ancient works which scrupulously adhere to the rules of grammar. There are unquestionably modern works which deviate from those rules. It must be held, therefore, that

* See under Kumār. I. 35.

† See Sarga III. Stanza 6.

‡ Raghu. XIX. 60; V. 61; V. 34. And see Siddh. Kaum. II. 364.

§ See Kāvya Prakāśa p. 271 (Ed. Mahes'achandra) परिपन्थिनी occurs in the Mālatī Mādhav.

|| Vide *inter alia* II. 245 (Tārānāth's Ed.)

¶ See Siddh. Kaum. II. 364. In the Mahābhāṣya under Pāṇini I. 4, 2 we find Patañjali saying सन्देशकयः कुर्यन्ति (p. 269 Banāras Ed.).

grammatical anomalies, standing by themselves, are not necessarily an index of the antiquity of the works in which they occur. And it may be doubted, also, whether they are of much value even when coupled with other considerations.

Turn we now to the contents of the Gītā to consider whether they afford anything that may prove of assistance in this investigation. We have already referred to its mode of treating its subject in some parts, and have argued that it bespeaks an epoch previous to the epoch of out and dry systems. We have also referred to the use of the terms Sāṅkhya* and Yog, and contended that the Gītā was probably composed before these systems came into existence. We shall now proceed to draw attention also to a few other points which are not, perhaps, of very considerable weight, standing alone, but which all taken together may, I think, be regarded as of some value. And first the Gītā mentions only three Vedṣ.† And of these it regards the Sāmaved as the best,‡ therein agreeing with the Aitareya Brāhmaṇ, as we have pointed out in our note on the passage. Now it is remarkable, that in the Manu Smṛiti the Sāmaved appears to have been ousted from this eminence,§ since we read in Manu IV. 124 :—सामवेदः स्मृतः तिष्ठत्यस्मान्स्याद्युचिर्निः; and based on this the injunction in 128 सामभजनाद्व्यजुषी नधीवीन कदाचन. Further no

* By an oversight I omitted to refer to Gītā XVIII. 13 on this point. I have failed to trace the "five conditions" there stated in any work on what is now known to us as the Sāṅkhya Philosophy. We must, therefore, adhere to the opinion expressed above, in spite of Vijnān Bhikṣu's contention the other way in the Introduction to his Bhāṣya on the Sāṅkhya Sūtras. See too Mr. Thomson's note at p. 115. It is also noteworthy that Sāṅkhya Sūtra I. 85 seems ■ run counter to the theory of the Gītā as to action without desire.

† IX. 17.

‡ X. 22.

§ Cf. Muir S. T. Vol. III. Preface p. 9 (which I have since seen).

allusion ■■■ be found in the Gītā to the Trinity which ■■ referred to even by Bhartṛihari and Kālidāsa.* Indra ■■ still described by implication as the chief of the Gods.† S'ankar too is described only as the chief of the Rudras.‡ And although undoubtedly Kṛishṇa is identified with Viṣṇu, and both are identified with the Supreme Being, still in one place, Viṣṇu is referred to as chief of the Ādityas.§ That no argument can be based on the high veneration paid to Viṣṇu in the Gītā for holding it to be later than the Christian Era has been already stated.¶ It is desirable, however, ■■ make a few more observations upon this point. It appears to me to be clear from the evidence collected, with such fulness by Mr. Muir, that there are to be found even in the oldest of the Veds not a few passages which, if they stood alone, "might lead us to suppose that this deity was regarded by the Vedic Rishis as the chief of all the gods."¶ It is true, that Mr. Muir points out several circumstances which appear to him to lead to the conclusion, that Viṣṇu "occupied a somewhat subordinate place in the estimation and affections of the ancient Rishis."¶ But although his argument is fairly open to an orthodox Hindu believing in the revealed character of the R̥gveda, it is at least a matter of doubt whether it lies in the mouth of a European Sanskritist of the present day to insist upon it. The circumstances on which Mr. Muir relies do not, I submit, justify the conclusion drawn from them. If we made a collection of

* See "Was the Rāmāyana copied from Homer?" p. 46. note 101 and Bhartṛihari Introd. xix.

† X. 21.

‡ X. 22.

§ X. 23.

¶ See p. lxxiii. *supra*

¶ Muir S. T. Vol. IV. (New. Ed.) p. 28.

passages from the classical Sanskrit Literature containing praises of various Deities, I think the collection would show many of the marks which Mr. Muir finds in the *Rigved*. We shall find now Vishnu and now S'ankar, now Ganes' and now Devi, all represented as the highest Deity. We shall find likewise, that in some passages, the powers conceded to one of them are nevertheless stated to come from another of them. We shall find in hymns specially dedicated to one of them that all the others are clubbed together with the minor members of the Hindu Pantheon in one promiscuous crowd. I do not know that we should be entitled to draw from such a collection any inferences like those which Mr. Muir draws from the *Rigved* collection. Yet the cases are quite parallel. I admit that the fact of a comparatively small number of hymns being addressed to Vishnu is worthy of note, and would seem to indicate that, in the age of the *Rigved*, Vishnu had not been regarded as the highest divinity by a very large proportion of the ancient Rishis. Nevertheless it is obvious that the germ was there; and I do not think that it would take all those centuries, which, according to European scholars, intervened between the Vedic age and the classical age, for that germ to develop into the later view of Vishnu's divinity. And if this is correct, it is enough for the purposes of our present argument. For all we have to consider here is whether the eminence which Vishnu occupies in the *Bhagavadgita* is one to which he could not have risen from his position in the Vedic age, except after the lapse of the centuries which separate the Vedic age from the birth of Christ. I maintain that such a length of time is quite unnecessary.

It has been suggested, indeed, that the "Vishnu of the Veds is in no way the Vishnu of the mythologists."* But I under-

* Muir S. T. Vol. IV. (New Ed.) Preface p. x. note.

stand this to mean simply that some of the qualities and actions attributed to Vishnu by the "mythologists" are not found attributed to him in the Veds. And if this is the only meaning of the assertion, then, I conceive, that it does not by any means affect our argument. Vishnu as one of the Âdityas is alluded to, as pointed out by Mr. Muir himself, in the Atharva Ved and the S'atapath Brâhman.* So that upon that ground nothing can be said against the antiquity of the Gîtâ which also speaks of him as one of the Âdityas. Vishnu as the Highest Being, also, is referred to as much in some of the hymns of the Rîgved as he is in the Gîtâ. Whatever, therefore, may be the view of the mythologists, there is nothing in the Gîtâ to necessitate its being classed with their writings and nothing, therefore, in the view which the Gîtâ takes of Vishnu's divinity, that in any way affects our conclusion.

Come we now to another point. At Gîtâ X. 35 we read मास-
नं मर्गशीर्षेदम्. The only commentary in which I have seen any explanation of this is Madhusûdan's.† He ascribes the position here assigned to this month to its merits as neither very hot nor very cold and so forth. But I think it more likely, — Lassen agrees, that the reason for mentioning the Mârgas'irsha above others is that it was formerly the month with which the year commenced. Now Lassen points out, that according to Bentley, Mârgas'irsha was the first month of the year between 693 and 451 B. C.; and he adds that if that were correct, the age of the Bhagavadgîtâ would be indicated by this passage. I own, however, that I cannot yet accept this argument. For even in the time of Amar Sinha, apparently, Mârgas'irsha was still the first month of the year. That appears to me to be a safe inference from the

* Muir S. T. Vol. IV. 113.

† See it quoted in Schlegel's Gîtâ by Lassen p. 276.

fact, that in the enumeration of the different names of the months, Amar mentions the *Mārgas'iraha* month first.* Now it is true that the date of Amar is not yet well settled, but tradition does not carry it further back than 56 B. C.; while Prof. Wilson is not quite certain as to whether that date or the fifth century A. C. is the correct date;† and Prof. Kern seems to be quite decisive in favour of the latter date.‡ Whoever view is taken, however, the date of Amar does not fall within the limits stated by Bentley; and the matter is one therefore which requires further elucidation. I am unable to throw any light upon it, and I must therefore leave it here.

Let us now proceed to another point. And let us compare the view of caste taken in the *Gītā* with that in *Manu*. The duties of a *Brāhmap* are stated in the *Gītā* at Chap. XVIII. 42, and by *Manu* in Chap. I. 88. The former lays down as the duty of a *Brāhmap* the acquisition of sundry moral and religious virtues, such as purity, straight-forwardness and so forth. The latter lays down the well-known six-fold division of a *Brāhmap*'s duties. Now I think that a comparison of these two views shows that the view of the *Gītā* is considerably older than the other. In fact it appears to me to take us back to the time when the differentiation of the *Brāhmap* caste was a living reality, and had not as yet petrified into a mere dogma. The doctrine of *Manu* appears to me to be the doctrine of a *Brāhmanical* priesthood, involving little, if any, responsibility, but conferring numerous valuable privileges. The doctrine of the *Gītā* is that of a class which is really superior in a certain sort

* See *Kānda* I. St. 1 (Kālavarga) and *Varāhamihir ad finem*.

† *Essays &c.* Vol. III. 184. And see *Goldstücker's Dictionary* under

‡ See the Preface to his *Bṛhatsanhita*.

of intrinsic worth, and which does not desire that superiority to continue divorced from that worth.* The *Gītā* seems to me to belong to the age when the Brāhman still possessed that which had made him the head of Hindu society. The *Manu Smṛiti* seems to belong to the age when the Brāhman continued to enjoy the position of head, not so much because of his possession at that time of the virtues which had originally raised him to it, as because of the rules laid down with authority at a time when those virtues had not yet died away. Furthermore the generality of statement in the *Gītā*, contrasted with the specific hard and fast rules laid down by *Manu*, appears to me to show that *Manu* belongs to a later stage of religious development. If we now compare the duties of Kshatriyas laid down in the two works, we still obtain the same results. The *Gītā* enforces the acquisition of those qualities which made the Kshatriya what he was—bravery, courage, the imperial dignity. That, like the rule about the Brāhman's duties, appears to me again to lead us back far into antiquity, when the difference of castes existed in its original form as a division of classes, consequent on a division of labour. Fight and conquer enemies; acquire booty and make presents out of the booty so acquired. That is the Kshatriya's mode of life. See now the view which *Manu* places before us. And first, protection of subjects. Compare that with the less specific imperial dignity, or bravery in war of the *Gītā*; it shows an advance on the state of society exhibited in the latter work. And next, sacrifices and study; that again shows a well-settled state of society, and one in which the Kshatriya's

* Mr. Thomson (p. 121), thinks that "our post-philosopher" did not wish the Kshatriya and Vaiśya to be initiated in his doctrines except with great care. I do not think that *Gītā* XVIII. 67, from which Mr. Thomson draws this among other inferences, shows any such disinclination on the part of the author.

duties required him to call in the help of the Brāhman. In regard to the Vais'ya, there is much less difference between the two views. The Manu Smṛiti adds sacrifices and study to the list given by the Gītā, and therefore, it is here open to the last remark made above with regard to the Kshatriyas. The unfortunate S'ādra is in precisely the same position in the Gītā and in Manu. But taking the two pictures thus presented to us, I think there can be little doubt, that the Gītā mirrors a state of society considerably more ancient than that which Manu presents to our view. There ■ nothing in the Gītā corresponding to the laudation of the Brāhman to be found in Manu I. 93 *et seq.* And perhaps also it is not quite unworthy of note, that whereas the Gītā refers for the origin of these duties to the Svabhāva,* the constitution or nature of each class, Manu says it is laid down by divine authority.

There is another passage in the Gītā upon which a question somewhat akin to the one we have now been discussing may be raised. I refer to Gītā Chap. IV. 2-3. Mr. Thomson thinks the passage "curious.....as giving to the Kshatriya caste, the Rājashis, the honour of its transmission, (*scil.* of the Yog system,) a sop offered to the offended lion by the wary Brāhman." I cannot see what led Mr. Thomson to propound this view of the passage. But why, I would fain know, was the "lion" offended? It will be remembered, that the Kshatriya has already figured in Mr. Thomson's pages firstly as hankering after the "enjoyment of profitable repose;" and secondly as being compelled "to join the Brāhman against the bulk of the populace."[†] He now assumes a third character—not quite consistent with either of these two—standing forth as the "offended lion." And

* See too Gītā IV. 13.

† P. xliv. (Introd.) and p. 67.

all this, be it remembered, just about the period when the Bhagavadgītā appeared. I cannot reconcile these various views, nor can I discover the evidence for any one of them. And in this state, therefore, I will leave them. It appears to me, that the Kshatriya receives comparatively high honour in the Gītā, not only in the passage under consideration, but also in Gītā Chap. IX. 33, in which Mr. Thomson is again pleased to see a "lump of sugar thrust down the Kshatriya's throat."* That this is not so, that our view of these passages is more correct, appears to me to result, in some measure, from the view of caste generally, which, as shown above, is exhibited in the Gītā.

There is but one other point upon which we now propose to dwell. And that is that we find one whole stanza common to the Gītā and Manu, and several in which the ideas expressed coincide, though there is little or no coincidence of language. The one stanza which we refer to is Manu I. 73, which, with a few variations, is the same as Gītā VIII. 17. A comparison of these two stanzas appears to me to corroborate the view which we have taken above of the relative dates of Manu and the Gītā. In the first place, where the Gītā in the second line of the stanza substantially repeats the expression in the first line viz.: *सहस्रयुगार्धम्*, Manu substitutes for it *वर्षम्*. Now if our view of repetition of expressions† is correct, this is one ground for putting the Gītā before Manu. Secondly, the passage in the Gītā does not define the duration of a Yuga. The natural construction, therefore, would be that a human Yuga was intended. In Manu, however, in the stanza just preceding, the Yugs spoken of are divine Yugs, and they are referred to in the stanza under discus-

* P. 67. The Brāhman, too, has to thank Mr. Thomson for finding "sops" and "lumps of sugar" for him in the Gītā, (p. 111.)

† See p. lxi *supra*.

sion by the words ऋ—words which, it is to be noted, are not in the Gītā. Now as Mr. Muir points out, the theory that the duration of the Yuga stated in Manu and other works is reckoned not in human but in divine years, is a later refinement.* It may therefore, be regarded as a not very violent assumption, that this difference between Manu and the Gītā is an index of the chronological priority of the former over the latter. In corroboration of the results drawn from these arguments, we may also use a comparison of one other passage of Manu with a corresponding passage in the Gītā. In Gītā X. 25 we have the Jap described as the best of the different forms of "Yajna." A similar opinion is expressed in Manu II. 86, but the distinctions there stated with regard to this Jap may, I think, be fairly used, as further showing the priority of the Gītā over Manu. There are a few other passages in Manu and the Gītā which exhibit like coincidences. Some of them are noted in the Notes and Illustrations. But I think it perfectly safe to contend, upon the strength of the various arguments above set forth, that the Gītā must have preceded the Dharmasāstra of Manu by a very considerable period of time.

"And now," to borrow the eloquent language of Professor Tyndall's splendid discourse before the British Association at Belfast, "and now the end is come. With more time, or greater strength and knowledge, what has been here said might have been better said, while worthy matters here omitted might have received fit expression. But there would have been no material deviation from the views here set forth." Those views may be thus concisely stated. Dr. Lorinser's theory is utterly untenable, firstly because it ■ based

* Muir S. T. Vol. I. (2nd Ed.) 47 citing Prof. Roth.

on assumptions which have not been, and cannot be, proved. It is untenable secondly, because the coincidences upon which he relies are either really no coincidences at all, or are such as do not warrant the inference drawn from them. It is untenable thirdly, because even if it were otherwise unobjectionable, it would be quite incompetent to account for all the facts of the case. Lastly it is untenable, because it omits to take note of various circumstances which, as we have endeavoured to show above, completely negative it. We have shown that the internal evidence furnished by the Gîtâ would lead to the conclusion that it was composed prior to the Christian Era. We have shown that the evidence available enables us to put it chronologically before Kâlidâs and before the author of the *Mahâ Smṛiti*. We have shown that we may even hold provisionally, that it is older than the rise of Buddhism. We further argue that the date which Dr. Lorinser takes from Professor Lassen would, if accepted, lead to ulterior conclusions which must make us fall back upon the position that that date must be rejected. And in considering this point it must never be forgotten, that due allowance of time must be made not merely for the ideas to be borrowed, but for their settling down into the accepted ideas of the Hindu people. A right appreciation of these circumstances will enable us, I think, to see that Dr. Lorinser's theory cannot be correct. I maintain, that the foregoing investigation has shown by negative criticism that the grounds advanced by Dr. Lorinser for his several propositions are quite untenable. And I go further. I claim also to have shown affirmatively, that the Gîtâ belongs to a period when the "Christian influences" of which Dr. Lorinser speaks could not possibly have existed, and *a fortiori* could not have acted upon the Indian mind.

And now, I trust, I may allow myself here one general

remark, suggested not merely by Dr. Lorinser's essay, but by various writings of the most celebrated Sanskrit scholars of Europe. It appears to me that in these days, there has set in a powerful tendency in Europe to set down individual works and classes of works of our ancient Sanskrit Literature to as late a date as possible.* One of the greatest of living European scholars, for instance, has written as follows :—" I should like to see a possibility by which we could explain the addition, not of the Vāṅkīya hymns only, but of other much more modern sounding hymns, at a later time than the period of the Prātisākhya." And once more :—" I say again that I am not free from misgivings on the subject, and my critical conscience would be far better satisfied if we could ascribe the Prātisākhya, and all it pre-supposes to a much later date."† Now this outspoken naïvete is not by any means very common. Nevertheless there can be little doubt, that the above deliverances of Prof. Max Müller put into words a feeling entertained, more or less vaguely, more or less consciously, by the vast majority of European scholars. Yet I submit with all respect, but with very great confidence, that they betray a frame of mind which is the reverse of scientific. Prof. Müller has a right to his " misgivings ;" and not only has he a right to them, he is bound to express them whenever a proper opportunity arises. But what right, it may be asked with all deference to the learned Professor, what right has he to express or to feel " likings" and " satisfaction" regarding one explanation more than another ? Would it not be more correct, would it not be more scientific, to cease craving and hankering after the " possibi-

* Cf. Wilson's *Essays* &c. III. 182-3 and J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X. 82.

† Max Müller Translation of the *Rigved*. I. *Introd.* pp. xxxix., xl.

lity" of escaping from a position presented by a "stringency of argument" which is "frightening?" Would it not be more correct, would it not be more scientific, to loyally accept such a position, and endeavour to rectify the foregone conclusion with which it stands in irreconcilable conflict? It appears to me, I confess, that it is this reserve of "likings" and "satisfactions" and "foregone conclusions," lying in the back ground of most of the logical artillery which European scholars have brought to bear upon the chronology of our ancient Literature, it is this that is temporarily doing damage to its antiquity. Those foregone conclusions easily throw these scholars into the frame of mind, in which, to borrow the terse vigour of Chillingworth's language, "they dream what they desire and believe their own dreams." And it is against this frame of mind, and against the often "moist light" of European Sanskrit scholarship of which it is the source, that I feel bound to lodge my very humble but very emphatic protest on the present occasion.

BHAGAVADGÎTÂ.

Dhritarâshtra. What did my party and the Pândava do,
Oh Sanjaya! when upon the Holy Field
Of Kurukshetra, longing for the fight,
They met together?

Sanjaya. Seeing then the host
Of Pându's sons drawn up in battle array,
The Prince Duryodhan to his teacher went,
And thus began: "Look at this mighty host
Of Pându's sons, Preceptor! well arrayed
By thy talented pupil—Drupad's son.
Here are brave men, and archers great, the peers
Of Bhîm and Arjun—ho of the great car*
Drupad, and Dhîrîshîtaketu, that brave king
Of Kâs't, Kuntîbhoj, and chief of men—
S'aibya—Virât, Subhadra's son, the sons
Of Draupadi, Yudhâmanyu the brave,
The valiant Uttamaujas, Sâtyaki,†
And Chekitân—all masters of great cars.
Know, next, our own best men, chiefs of my host,
Whom, best of Brâhmanas! I shall name, that thou
Mayst know—thyself, and Bhîshma, and Karṇa, and Kṛp

* I have thus literally rendered the word महाशय here and elsewhere. Its technical meaning is stated in a stanza cited by Mallinath under Baghu IX. 1. एको दशसहस्राणि शीघ्रयोगस्तु भविनाम् । ज्ञात्वा ज्ञात्वापरीक्ष्य स महाशय उच्यते ।

† S'ridhar Svâmi states that the name युगधन which occurs in the original text stands for Sâtyaki.

Victor in battles, As'vatthāmā too,
 Vikarṇa, and Saumadatti, heroes more
 In numbers, who have for me laid down their lives,
 Adepta at various weapons, all well skilled
 In war. By Bhīṣma our host defended thus
 Is numberless, while theirs guarded by Bhīm
 Is but a small one. Therefore do ye all,
 Standing in your positions as assigned,
 Defend Bhīṣma only. Then to his delight,
 Roaring aloud as with a lion's roar,
 His grandsire, oldest of the Kaurava, blew.
 His conch, heroic. Then were conchs and drums
 Cymbals and horns played on at once; their noise
 Was great. Next seated in a mighty car
 Drawn by white coursers, Kṛiṣṇa and Pāṇḍu's son
 Their conchs celestial blew. The Lord of minds *
 Blew the Gigantea, † while the Conqueror
 Of wealth ‡ blew the Theodotes, and Bhīm,
 The doer of fearful deeds, his mighty conch
 The Arundinen. Then too Kuntī's son
 Yudhiṣṭhira blew his Triumphatrix—conch,

* This is, of course, a very unsatisfactory rendering for धृषीकेश, as it is not quite literal, and does not at once suggest the idea attached to it, धृषीक being, according to Amar, synonymous with विषयान्द्रिय. Under all the circumstances, however, I have thought it sufficiently correct to be adopted for its terseness and suitability to verse. Maṇuśūdan Saraśvatī renders it by सेन्द्रियमनर्वकलेनान्तर्धमी.

† This and the following names of the conchs are borrowed from Schlegel. They have been approved of by Prof. Wilson.

‡ Mr. Thomson renders धनंजय by "Despiser of wealth." I have preferred to follow the literal sense which has the sanction of the commentators.

Nakul and Sahadev their conchs then blew—
Dulcisona and Gemmiflorea.

That first of archers—Kās'ya—Sātyaki

The unconquered one, and he of the great car
S'ikhapāṭi, Drupad, Dranpadī's sons too,

And Dhrishṭadyumna, Saubhadra of large arms,

Virāt, and all their several conchs then blew,

Oh king of the Earth! That great noise rent the hearts
Of all thy party, causing to resound

Both Earth and Heaven. Seeing thy party then
For battle drawn, the clash of arms commenced,

Arjun, whose chariot's standard is the Ape,

Oh king of the Earth! in these words then addressed

The Lord of minds: "Oh undegraded one!

Between the two hosts let my chariot stand,

While I observe those who stand here to fight,

Whom, in the troubles of this field, I must

Do battle with. I would see those who are come

To fight, and do good to the wicked son

Of Dhṛitarāshṭra. "Offspring of Bharat! * then

Addressed by Arjun thus, the Lord of minds,

Stopping that paragon of cars between

The hosts, and face to face with Bhīshma and Droṇ

And all kings of the earth, said "Prithā's son!

See these assembled Kurus." There he saw

Fathers,† grandfathers, and preceptors too,

* This expression, or one of its equivalents, occurs several times in our poem. ■ refers to Bharat, the son of Dushyanta and S'akuntalā, from whom the Pāṇḍava and Kaurava were said to have descended, and after whom India ■ called Bhāratavarsha.

† The original ■ पितरः, fathers. ■ must be understood as including those in positions similar to that of a father, e. g. paternal uncles and so forth. So too of the rest.

Uncles, and brothers, sons and their sons, friends,
 And others more in either host. He saw,
 And seeing all those kinsmen, overcome
 By pity, thus he spoke, dejected : " Kṛishṇa !
 Seeing our own men thus come here to fight,
 My limbs droop down ; my mouth is quite dried up ;
 My body trembles ; my hair stand on end ;
 The Gāṇḍiv slides down from my hand ; my skin
 Intensely burns : I cannot stand ; my mind
 Whirls round ; Oh Kes'av ! omens bad I see ;
 Nor do I see in prospect good to come
 By slaughtering in the fight my kin. Oh Kṛishṇa !
 I want no kingdom, and no victory,
 No comforts. What, Oh Govind ! shall we do
 With kingdoms, and with pleasures, even with life ?
 Even those for whom we wish for kingdoms, pleasures,
 And comforts, stand for battle here, their lives
 And wealth forsaking—teachers, fathers, sons,
 Grandfathers, uncles, son's sons, relatives.
 Oh slayer of Madhu ! I wish not to kill
 These, even though they kill me, for the sake
 Of rule over all the three worlds, much less then
 For this earth. Killing Dhṛitarāshṭra's sons,
 What pleasure, Oh Janārdan ! shall we feel ?
 These felons* killed, but sin shall fall to us.
 Therefore, 'tis not becoming that we kill
 Our own relations—Dhṛitarāshṭra's sons.
 For how, Oh Mādhav ! shall we ever be
 Happy by killing our own kinsmen ? Though

* The original ■ अनवायेन ; which is thus interpreted अभिरी

With consciences* by avarice defiled,
 They do not see the evils that are caused
 By the extinction of a family,
 Nor see the sin in treachery to friends,
 How should not we, Janārdan ! who do see
 These evils, turn off from such sinful acts ?
 The eternal rites of families extinct
 Are lost on that extinction ; † on that loss,
 Impiety makes the family ‡ its own .
 And when impiety triumphs thus, Oh Kṛishṇa !
 Then do the women of the family
 Become corrupted ; and on their corruption,
 Offspring of Vṛishṇi ! comes mingling of castes.
 That intermingling needs must send to Hell
 The family and those that ruin it ;
 For their ancestors, of their balls of food
 And their libations then bereft, fall down. §
 The eternal rites of families and castes
 Are thus uprooted by such sins of men
 Who ruin families, sins from which flow
 Caste-interminglings. Oh Janārdan ! those
 By whom the rites of families are destroyed, ||

* Mr. Thomson renders चेतः by 'reason.' I prefer 'conscience' in the present context.

† As there ■ no one to perform them, women not being authorized to do so—Ānandagiri.

‡ The remaining members of it—Ānandagiri.

§ To Hell, that is to say. The lines following are taken by Śrīdhara Svāmī as a resumé of what has gone before, and that seems the best way of construing this passage, which at its close is somewhat involved—perhaps, intentionally.

|| The commentators take this to mean "those whose rites" &c., which is not inadmissible, but I think the rendering in the text leads more directly ■ the sense here required.

Are ever doomed, ■ we have heard, to live
 In Hell. Alas! we are seeking to commit
 A heinous sin, busying ourselves to kill
 Our kinsmen, out of lust of the happiness
 Of sovereignty. If Dhṛitarāshṭra's sons,
 Weapon in hand, should kill me in this field,
 Me weaponless, not making self-defence,
 The better for me." Arjun saying so,
 Forsaking bow and arrow in the field,
 Grieved to the heart, sat down upon his car.

Chapter II. (Sanskrit)

Sanjaya. To him cast down, by pity thus overcome,¹

(His eyes all turbid and suffused with tears)

These words spoke Madhu's slayer—"Oh Arjun! whence
 Has this taint caught thee in this fearful place*—

This taint, unworthy of the wise, the source
 Of infamy, excluding too from Heaven?

Be not effeminate, Oh Prithās' son!

It is not fit for thee, killer of foes!

Do cast off this mean want of heart! Arise!

Arjun. Oh slayer of Madhu! how shall I fight Bhīshma

And Drop, with arrows in the battle-field,

Oh slayer of foes! both venerable men?

Not killing glorious elders, in this world

'Twould even be better on begged food to live;

But killing them, desirous though of wealth,

Blood-tainted pleasures I shall here enjoy.

* Mr. Thomson's rendering of this is not satisfactory to my mind. I follow the commentators who are supported by the passages cited in our note ■ Stanza 97 of the Nīlīśataka (Bombay Series ■ Sanskrit Classics).

Which too ■ better for us we know not^o—
 That we should overthrow them or they us.
 Against us stand even Dhṛitarāshṭra's sons,
 Whom killing, we do not desire to live.
 My mind about my duty quite confused,
 My heart, too, by the taint of helplessness†
 'Tarnished, I ask, tell me with certainty,
 What's better—thy disciple I—teach me
 Who have on thy indulgence cast myself.
 Having obtained a prosperous kingdom here
 On earth, without a foe, or even the rule
 Of Heavenly beings, I see not what will
 Dispel the grief my body will dry up.”
 The Lord of sleep,‡ destroyer of his foes,
 Having so spoken to the Lord of minds,
 Sat down in silence, saying then to Krishna,
 “I will not fight.” To him, between the hosts
 Disheartened thus, offspring of Bharat! then
 The Lord of minds spoke with a little smile.
 “Thou grievedst for those for whom no grief should be,
 And talkest the words of wisdom ; learned men
 Lament not for the living nor the dead.
 Never did I not exist, nor thou, nor these
 Rulers of men, nor shall we ever cease
 To be hereafter. To the embodied soul,§

* Madhusūdan understands the two alternatives to be “ living on begged food ” and fighting ; and Ânandagiri agrees with Madhusūdan. S'ridhar takes the alternatives to be those stated in the next line, and this construction I prefer.

† Mr. Thomson's rendering here again is not satisfactory to me. I follow Ânandagiri. Madhusūdan understands कर्तव्य to mean भगवत्पूजित.

‡ Thus the commentators interpret the name सुषाक्ष which is applied to Arjun in the original.

§ I have thus rendered the word देही, which means literally “ [the soul] which has [i. e. animates] a body.”

As in this body infancy, and youth,
 And old age, so the acquisition too
 Of other bodies; a discerning man
 Is not deceived by that. Oh Kuntī's son!
 The contacts of the senses* causing cold,
 Heat, pain, and pleasure, do not long endure;
 They come and go. Bear them, Oh Bharat's child!
 That wise man, Prince of men! whom these harm not,
 He to whom pain and pleasure are alike,
 That man doth merit immortality.
 Existence that which is unreal has none;
 That which is real is never non-existent;
 Those see the settled truth about them both
 Who see the essence real. † That which pervades
 All things, know thou, beyond destruction lies,

* The commentators, including Śaṅkar, interpret शब्दा by 'senses.' Mr. Thomson renders it by elements, I know not on what authority. Compare Chap. V, St. 22.

† The unreal, = remarked by the commentators, refers to the heat, cold &c. mentioned in the preceding verses. The real is the soul. The former are really non-existent as they 'come and go'; and only that which is in all time—that which is *विकलाभाय*—really exists. The soul is such; and it cannot be destroyed. The word *अस्त* has much exercised the European translators. Mr. Thomson renders it by end, which he next interprets as equivalent to object. This is scarcely correct. I agree with the commentators. The expressions *सिद्धन्त* and *गतास्त* may be compared. The meaning of the whole passage is this. Here are two things, the soul, which is indestructible, the feelings of pain &c., which are temporary. The true philosopher knows which of these is the really existent and which the reverse. He knows that soul alone exists, the others being the effects of delusion. The latter therefore ought not to be minded.

None can destroy it, inexhaustible,
 These bodies of the embodied soul eterne,
 The indestructible and boundless one,
 Are said * to be not lasting; therefore fight.
 Offspring of Bharat! He who thinks this soul
 The killer, and he too who thinks it killed,
 Both these know naught; it kills not, is not killed. †
 It is not born, it never dies, and never,
 Having not been, is it to be again;
 Changeless, eterne, primeval, and unborn, ‡
 It is not killed although the body be.
 How can the man, Oh Pṛithā's son! who knows
 The soul to be unchanging and unborn,
 Beyond destruction, inexhaustible,
 How and whom can he kill or get destroyed?
 As casting off old clothes, a person takes
 Others and new ones, so the embodied soul
 Casts off old bodies, goes to others new.
 Nor weapons cut it, nor does fire burn,
 Waters don't wet it, nor air dry it up;
 Impervious, and incombustible,
 Not to be wetted, nor to be dried up,
 Changeless, and all-pervading, § stable, firm
 Eternal 'tis. It has been said to be

* By those possessed of true discrimination—S'ankar.

† The original of this may be seen also in the Kathopanishad II. 19.

‡ *Ibid* II. 18. The epithets used here are not quite easy to distinguish. The commentators differ among themselves. S'ankar in one place renders नित्य by निपरिणामरहित; in another he says यस्मात् स्थिते

§ Mr. Thomson renders this by 'capable of going everywhere.' This is scarcely an accurate rendering of सर्वगतः.

Invisible, incapable of change,
 Unthinkable, and therefore knowing it
 To be such, 'tis not fit that shouldst thus
 Lament it. But if thou dost think the soul
 Always now born now dead, Oh large-armed one!
 Still shouldst thou not lament it; for to one
 That's born, death's certain, and to one that's dead,
 Birth; hence for things that one cannot avoid
 Thou shouldst not grieve. Offspring of Bharat! things*
 Have sources unperceived, mid-states perceived,
 Ends unperceived. What's there for grief in them?
 One sees the soul with wonder; so one spends
 Of it with wonder; and with wonder hears
 Another; having heard none knows it still.†
 Offspring of Bharat! the embodied soul
 Is ever within the body of every one,
 All indestructible, hence 'tis not fit
 For thee to grieve for any living thing ‡
 Seeing thy duty too, thou shouldst not thus
 Falter, for to a Kshatriya nothing else
 Is better than a righteous fight, Oh Pārtha!
 Happy indeed the warriors who thus
 Find battle as an opened door to Heaven §

* Śrīdhara Svāmī renders भूतानि by शरीराणि. Śaṅkar explains it by पुनर्मित्रादिकार्यकारणसंगतानामकानि, and Madhusūdan by पृथिव्यादिभूतमयानि शरीराणि. Śrīdhara Svāmī also takes भवत्य in the Sāṅkhya sense to mean प्रपन्न.

† Compare Kathopanishad II. 7.

‡ The original here is again भूतानि. Śaṅkar renders ■ by भौतानि and Madhusūdan by स्थूलानि सूक्ष्मज्ञे च भौतानि भवापन्नानि.

§ Compare Bhartṛhari's Nitīśataka Misc. St. 2 and note on it (Bomb. Sans. Class. Ed.).

Come of itself! But if thou wilt not fight
 This righteous battle, thou wilt come by sin,
 Abandoning thy duty and thy fame.
 Of thy everlasting infamy will tell
 All beings too, and infamy to one
 Who has been honoured is far worse than death.
 Masters of great cars will think that through fear
 Thou from the fight desistedst. Thou wilt then fall,
 Having by them been highly thought of once,
 To littleness.* Thy enemies will talk
 Much talk unspeakable, and will cry down
 Thy power—than that more galling what can be?
 Killed thou wilt Heaven obtain, and conquering
 Thou wilt the earth enjoy. Therefore, arise,
 Oh Kuntī's son! resolved upon the fight!
 Looking alike on victory and defeat,
 On gain and loss, on pleasure and on pain,
 Be ready for the fight—so thou wilt not sin.
 This doctrine told you is that of the Sāṅkhya,
 That of the Yog now hear; † and knowing this,
 Arjun! from action's ties thou wilt be freed.
 No disappointment here in what's commenced,
 No obstacles exist; from dangers great
 A little of this piety protects.

* The construction of the original here is not quite clear. Madhusūdan says येषामिव... सं वदुमन्ते... त एव तामहात्म्यः भयादुपरतं संस्यन्त इत्यन्वयः। अतो भूत्वा युद्धादुपरत इति शेषः त्वयत्वं... वास्यसि... सर्वेषामिति शेषः। येषामिव तं वायवदुमन्तेभूस्तेषामिव त्वदुत्तमो भूत्वा त्वयत्वं वास्यस्यति क ॥ Śaṅkar's and Śrīdhara's interpretations may be seen in their works.

† The commentators interpret सखि to mean अत्यन्तस्व, जीवनिपदगुरु, and the like. This is not a satisfactory meaning. See *infra* Chap. V. St. 4. (lines 650 et seq.) See too our Introductory Essay.

There's here, Oh Kaurav ! but one state of mind,
Which in a resolution fixed consists.*
Endless are those of the inconstant ones,
And many-branched. No resolution fixed
On contemplation can they have whose minds,
They being attached to pleasures and to power,
Are led off by that talk which inculcates
Specific acts for pleasures and for power,
Which promises the fruit of actions done
In former lives—the flowery talk, Oh Pārtha!
Which those unwise ones utter who are charmed
By Vedic words, and say there's nothing else,
Those who are full of wishes, and whose goal
Is Heaven. † The Veda do merely concern
The effects of the three qualities; ‡ but thou

* S'ankar says येन संख्ये बुद्धिदत्ता योगे च सम्यक्प्रवृत्त्या सा—thus embracing both Sāṅkhya and Yog in the passage. S'ridhar says इह ईश्वरा-
दाधनलक्षणे कर्मयोगे व्यवसायमिका परमेश्वरभक्तये भुवं तद्विष्णुमीति मिथ्यामिका,
Madhusūdan says, इह धर्मयोगे (so says S'ankar too) तमेवमिति
वाक्ये वा. See the Notes and Illustrations at the end of this book.

† The effect of adhering resolutely to contemplation is stated in
St. 53. The different interpretations of समधि given by Madhusū-
dan may be seen in the Notes and Illustrations. 'Flowery' (पुष्पित.)
S'ridhar interprets by आगतवीर्यमयी which means pleasant only at
first sight—on a superficial view—not "pleasant until it falls," as Mr.
Thomson erroneously translates it. On 'Vedic words' S'ridhar says
इह ये वादा भर्त्सनाः. In this the other commentators concur. Heaven
■ not the highest good being a merely temporary affair, see Chap.
VIII. St. 16 and Chap. IX. St. 21 and comp. Bhartṛhari Vairāgya-
S'taka St. 3 and note on it (Bomb. Sans. Class.) and also
the Vedic text तदर्थेह कर्मिणो लोकाः क्षीयन्ते एतन्नामस्य पुण्यविनो लोकाः क्षीयन्ते.

‡ वैश्वस्य—संसार. S'ankar and Madhusūdan. S'ridhar विष्णुनामकाः

Must be self-ruled, Oh Arjun ! free from them
 And from the pairs of opposites,* and rest
 Always in courage,† from solicitude
 For acquisition and protection free.‡
 In all the Veda, a learned Brāhman finds
 As much good as is in a reservoir
 Of water, where from all sides waters flow.§
 With action is thy sole concern, with fruit
 Never ■ all. Let not thy motive be
 The fruit of action. To inaction, too,
 Have no attachment, Conqueror of wealth !
 Actions perform, but on devotion resting,
 Casting away attachment, on success
 And failure equable ; equality

सकामा येधिकारिणस्तानिपद्यः. निस्वैगुण्य they all interpret by निष्काम. On the three Gunas see Notes and Illustrations.

* Heat and cold, pain and pleasure, and so forth, which are so often alluded to in the Gītā.

† So the commentators except Ś'ankar who understands by सत्त्वं here the quality of that name. He is consistent as निस्वैगुण्य is with him only निष्काम. But I prefer to render सत्त्वं by ऐवं, as the other commentators do, that being one of the ordinary meanings of the word. I prefer this to Mr. Thomson's meaning also, viz. "eternal truth," as ■ better suits the context.

‡ योगक्षेम. I adopt the interpretation of the commentators which coincides with the ordinary sense of the expression. Mr. Thomson's rendering agrees in substance, but the sense from which he directly derives ■ appears to me to be itself probably derived from the one adopted in the text. And see too Mitāksharā on Yājñavalkya I. 100 where योग ■ explained to mean acquisition of what one has not ; and क्षेम preservation of what has been acquired.

§ See Notes and Illustrations.

Is called devotion. Action lower far
 Than acquisition of devotion* stands.
 In that devotion, Conqueror of wealth !
 Seek shelter. Miserable are those to whom
 Fruit serves as motive. He who has attained
 Devotion, casts off here both merit and sin.†
 Therefore work at devotion. That in acts
 Is wisdom.‡ Those wise men who have acquired
 Devotion, casting off the fruit of acts,
 And from the shackles of repeated births
 Released completely, to that seat repair
 Where no unhappiness is. When once thy mind
 Has crossed beyond the taint of ignorance,
 Then mayst thou be indifferent to all

* This is my rendering of बुद्धियोग. बुद्धि S'ankar and S'ridhar take to mean समन्वयबुद्धि, which may be rendered by 'devotion' as योग is. S'ridhar indeed also proposes another interpretation which Madhusūdan accepts, viz. बुद्धि (or आत्मबुद्धि as Madhusūdan has it) साधनभूमी वा (sci. कर्मयोगः). But if we accept this meaning of बुद्धि here, we ought I think to accept the same meaning in the next line बुद्धौ कारणमनिच्छत् ; and then there is not a proper contrast between that line and the last line of the Stanza—a contrast which is nevertheless obviously intended. I would therefore adhere to S'ankar's rendering, and as to योग I would take it as the substantive corresponding with the adjectival form युक्त in युक्तियुक्त. I think this makes the passage clear enough.

† Merit has for its fruit Heaven, which, as we have seen, is regarded as not much of a gain. Comp. also S'āriraka Bhāṣya (Bibl. Ind. Ed.) pp. 899, 1080 and elsewhere.

‡ I. e. wisdom consists in indifference to failure or success in whatever one does. Mr. Thomson's translation is not, I think, correct.

That thou hast heard or wilt hear. When thy mind,
 Confused by what thou hast heard,* will stand firm,
 In contemplation steady, then wilt thou
 Acquire devotion.

Arjun. What, Oh Kes'av ! are
 The marks of one whose mind is firm, and who
 In contemplation is assiduous ?
 How does one speak who ■ of steady mind,
 How sit, how move ?

Krishna, When one, Oh Prithā's son !
 Abandons all the wishes of one's heart,
 Pleased in and by oneself, then is one called
 A steady-minded person. One whose heart
 Is not dejected in calamity,
 And who in comforts feels no joy, from whom
 Affection fear and wrath have fled, is called
 A steady-minded sage. One who without
 Attachments anywhere, feels no delight
 And no aversion at the various sweets
 And bitter† coming has a steady mind.
 When as the tortoise draws in all his limbs
 From all sides, he off from their objects draws
 His senses, then is his a steady mind.
 Objects of sense recede, not so the taste
 For them, from one who lives in abstinence,
 And even the taste recedes when the Supreme
 Has once been seen.‡ The senses, Kuntī's son !

* About the means for the acquisition of desirable things—
 Śaṅkar.

† The original दुष्प्रसूत is rendered by अनुकूलप्रतिकूल by Śridhar
 and सुखदुःख by Madhusūdan.

interpretation doubtless makes the construction a very

Boisterous, distract the minds even of the wise
 Who try to make a stand, by force. All these
 Having restrained, one should devote oneself
 To me alone ; for steady is his mind
 Who has his senses under his control.

He who over sensuous objects ponders still
 Forms an attachment to them ; from this flows
 Desire ; and from desire wrath ; from that wrath
 Want of discernment ; and from this want flows
 Confusion of the memory ; and thence
 Flows demency ; and from this utter ruin.*

But he who, with his heart in his control,
 Senses restrained and from affections free
 As well as from aversions, does perceive
 Their objects, he tranquillity obtains.
 When there's tranquillity, his miseries
 Are all destroyed ; for he whose mind's at peace
 Is soon possessed of steadiness. Whoe'er
 Has no devotion† has no steadiness

irregular one. But the meaning is certainly that given in the
 on the authority of the commentators. Mr. Thomson's rendering is
 not satisfactory to my mind.

* The first two stages are easily understood. From desire grows
 wrath when the desire is balked of its object. From wrath follows
 the state of mind in which one cannot discern right and wrong ; from
 that a forgetfulness of what has been learnt before—शङ्कनचर्योः.
 देशाहितसंस्कार says S'ankar. The rest is again clear enough.

† The original word here is अयुक्त which the commentators render,
 I think correctly, by 'one who does not restrain himself.' I have
 rendered युक्ति in the original by 'steadiness' here. The commentators
 explain ■ by आत्मसंस्कारविशेष. Substantially, there ■ not much
 difference, for steadiness means steadiness in contemplation of the

And no self-knowledge.* But no peace of mind
Is his, who has no knowledge of himself ;
And whence can one bereft of peace of mind
Find happiness ? The obedience of one's mind
Unto the rambling senses takes away

• One's judgment, as the wind carries a boat
Astray upon the waters. Therefore he,
Oh large-armed one ! whose senses are restrained,
And from their objects are on every side
Withheld, possesses steadiness of mind.
The man of self-restraint remains awake,
When for all creatures it is night ; and when
All creatures are awake, that is the night
Of the right-seeing sage.† He into whom
All things of sense enter as waters do
The ocean, which still filled still keeps its bounds
Unmoved, obtains tranquillity ; not he
Who wishes for those things of sense. That man
Who all desires abandons, and remains
Free from affections and from "I" and "mine," ‡

true nature of the soul. My interpretation ■ based on a reference to the previous Stanza.

* More accurately, according to the commentators, perseverance in the work of knowing oneself. The text, however, is, I think, practically right, and भगवत्पुनः Madhusūdan renders by भाग्यवान्-मकुर्वन्ः.

† As ■ spiritual pursuits, the run of men can see nothing there, the whole thing is as dark as night to them ; while in worldly pursuits they are ever wide awake. With the sage the case stands exactly the other way.

‡ निर्द्वेष, the second word means indifferent to his possessions and things. The first निरहंकार means either free from egotism, or better, from a mistaken notion of what is the ego ; see Chap. III. St. 27.

Obtains tranquillity. Oh Prithā's son !
 This is the state divine,* at this arrived,
 One's not deceived, and being in this state
 In one's last moments too, one does attain
 Assimilation with the Deity.

Chapter III.

Arjun. Janārdan ! if devotion is by thee
 To action far superior esteemed,
 Then why, Oh Kes'av ! dost thou still direct
 Me to this fearful deed ? My mind by words
 Ambiguous thou seemest to confound ;
 Do tell me now one thing and certain, whence
 I may attain salvation

Krishna.

Sinless one !

I have already said, that in this world
 There is a two-fold path†—that of the Sāṅkhya—
 Pursuit of knowledge, and that of the Yog—
 Pursuit of action. One does not attain
 Freedom from action, ceasing to perform
 Acts merely, nor does one perfection reach
 By mere renunciation.‡ For no one

* ब्रह्मकर्मणो भवत्यन्तर्मन्नाम S'ankar.

† निष्ठा S'ankar renders by स्थिति, S'ridhar by मोक्षपरता. The word in the text would seem to suit both renderings well enough. S'ankar takes गुण 'already' to mean 'at the beginning of the creation.' S'ridhar and Madhusūdan take it to mean in the last chapter which seems preferable.

‡ निष्कर्म, which we have translated by freedom from action, S'ridhar renders by ज्ञान 'knowledge,' and S'ankar says निष्क्रियान्तरकर्मणावस्थानमिति यत्नः. Renunciation is what is technically called संन्यास, which without ज्ञान or knowledge is inefficacious. According to

Even for a moment ever does remain,
 But does perform some act; the qualities
 Born of his nature* force him (of himself
 Not master) to some work. He who restrains
 His active senses, yet thinks in his mind,
 Maddened, of sensuous objects, he is called
 A hypocrite. But he, Oh Arjun ! who,
 Having restrained the senses by the mind,†
 Without attachment action still pursues
 With the active senses, is superior far.‡
 Action prescribed perform, for action is
 Superior ■ inaction; nor by this
 Canst thou obtain subsistence for thyself.
 This world is fettered by all acts but those
 Spiritual.§ In these, Oh Kunti's son !
 Do thou engage, attachment casting off.
 Having made men, first, with the sacrifice,
 Said the creator " Propagate with this ;

S'ankar कर्म or action is necessary as a stepping-stone to नैष्कर्म्य or freedom from action.

* The three qualities together constitute the प्रकृति or nature. As to the power of this प्रकृति here stated, compare Chap. XVIII. 59-60.

† I. e. concentrating them on God, says S'rīdhar.

‡ I. e. to the hypocrite says S'ankar. S'rīdhar takes it to mean, "He attains knowledge by means of purity of mind."

§ यत्न ई. The commentators interpret this expression by the light of a Vedic text यत्न ई त्रियः. Mr. Thomson renders ■ by "which has worship for its object." The यत्न spoken of here appears to me to be that which is spoken of in the next Stanza. The creator having created men and the sacrifice said that men should perform sacrifice. Nothing that ■ done in pursuance of this direction is an obstacle in the way of salvation.

And may this be the giver of your desires.
 Please^o you the gods with this, and may those gods
 Please you; each other pleasing, you will obtain
 The highest happiness. The gods will give,
 Pleased with your rites, the enjoyments you desire;
 And he's a thief who, not returning them
 What they have given, enjoys himself." The good
 Who eat the leavings of a sacrifice
 Of all sins are absolved. The sinful ones,
 However, who for themselves alone prepare
 Their food, are caught by sin. From food are born
 Creatures; from rain too is the birth of food;
 Rain is produced by sacrifice; and this
 Is the result of action; action, know,
 Has its source in the Veds; the source of these
 Is the Indestructible.† Therefore the Veds,

शैत्यः says Madhusūdan. As among the
 Greeks, the offerings at the sacrifice were supposed by the Hindus
 to be what the gods fed on. Compare Kāmār. II. 46 or Mādhav's
 Ś'ankarvijaya I. 34.

† I have followed the commentators here. Mr. Thomson says that
 ब्रह्म means Ved "in later Sanskrit but never in our poem." But the
 result of not accepting that sense here is that ब्रह्माक्षरसमुद्भवम् is in-
 terpreted by Mr. Thomson to mean "The Supreme spirit is co-exi-
 stent with the indivisible." I know of no authority for taking समुद्भव
 to mean co-existent. Besides, in the Fifteenth Chapter to which Mr.
 Thomson refers, the word ब्रह्म, as he says himself, does not occur,
 but instead of ■ we have परमात्मा. Again when Mr. Thomson says that
 ब्रह्म has not the meaning of Ved in our poem, though he admits that
 it has that meaning in what he calls later Sanskrit, I do not know
 what ground there ■ for saying so. True ■ is, that no other use of it
 in this sense occurs in the book. But no more do we see any other

Pervading all, are at the sacrifice, *
 At all times. Whose canoes not to revolve
 This wheel thus turned, he is of sinful life,
 His senses humouring, and all in vain
 He lives, Oh Pīthā's son! But† then the man,
 Self-satisfied, who with himself alone
 And in himself is pleased, has nought to do.
 He has no interest in what is done,
 Nor in what is not done,‡ nor yet does he
 Depend on any creature for his wants.
 Therefore § without attachment ever perform
 Thy duty, for the man who acts performs
 Without attachment, reaches the Supreme. ||
 By acts alone did Janak and the rest

example of the sense in which the same word ब्रह्म is used at the beginning of Chapter XIV.

* S'ankar says "Although they are all-pervading as elucidating all matters, they are always at the sacrifice, as the rites of sacrifice are their main subject." S'ridhar takes सर्वगतं ब्रह्म as different from the ब्रह्म in the line preceding, and equivalent to भक्षर, and then says यज्ञे प्रतिष्ठितं यज्ञीनीशवभूतेन प्राप्यते . . . तद्यमस्य सदा लक्ष्मीरिति च. He also gives another meaning मंत्रार्थगदेः सर्वेषु भूतार्थोत्पत्त्यादिषु गतं स्थितमपि वेदाद्यं ब्रह्म सर्वदा यज्ञे सात्ययेन प्रतिष्ठितमती यज्ञादि कर्म कर्तव्यामित्यर्थः. In this Madhusūdan concurs, and it is practically the same as S'ankar's explanation.

† Here, according to S'ridhar, he states that the man of knowledge has nothing to do with कर्म or action.

‡ No good or evil accrues to him from anything he does or omits do—S'ankar.

§ Arjun, says S'ridhar, is told to perform action, as freedom from only for the man of knowledge. To that stage, it is implied, Arjun has not risen.

|| By means of purity of mind, say the commentators.

Attain perfection. Thou too shouldst perform
 Acts, looking to the universal good.
 Whatever a great man does, that do the rest,
 And men at large follow what he respects
 As of authority. I, Prithā's son!
 Have nought to do in any of these three worlds,
 Nothing to gain that I have not gained; still
 I do engage in action. Should I not
 Engage assiduous in action, then
 From all sides men would follow in my path,
 Oh Prithā's son! And should I not perform
 Acts, ruined then these worlds would be,* and I
 Of caste-comminglings should the author be,
 And should destroy all people. As the unwise,
 Offspring of Bharat! with attachment act,
 So should the wise, desiring to advance
 The general good, without attachment act.
 A wise man, actions with devotion doing,
 Should not distract† the ignorant, attached
 To action, but should set them to it. One,
 By egoism demented, thinks oneself
 The doer of those acts which are performed
 Throughout by nature's qualities.‡ But he,
 Oh large-armed one! who knows the truth about

* As the rules of action, by which the world is carried on, would be broken—लोकवियोगेन निमित्तस्य कर्मयोगात् says S'ankar. धर्मलोकेन नश्येयुः says S'ridhar.

† Literally = shake their convictions' i. e. wean them away from the path of action.

‡ Compare Chapter V. St. 8. 2. The active principle is nature, or प्रकृति. The soul or पुरुष is only the looker-on and the enjoyer.

The difference from qualities and acts, *
 Forms no attachments, thinks that qualities
 Do deal with qualities.† But then those who
 By nature's qualities are all confused,
 To their works‡ from attachments. Such dull men,
 Who know not all, the wise should not distract.
 Devoid of hope, devoid of "mine", on me
 Throwing all acts,§ the Adhyātma pondering,||
 Fight, freed from mental anguish. Even those men
 Who act on this opinion of mine,
 Always with faith, not carping, they are freed
 From action. Know, however, that those who carp
 At my opinion, and do not act
 Upon it, are demented, and confused
 In knowledge of all kinds, to all good lost.
 After his nature¶ even a wise man acts;
 All creatures follow it, what can restraint

* The difference of soul from the qualities, and its difference from acts. The words refer ■ him who believes that he is different from the collection of the qualities, and who believes that he ■ not the active principle—नाहं गुणान्धकः न मे कर्मणि says S'ridhar.

† I. e. Qualities (senses) deal with qualities (objects of sense). So the commentators. Mr. Thomson understands it differently.

‡ The workings of the qualities, namely, what are commonly known as man's actions.

§ I. e. Convinced by means of true discrimination that you are doing all for God.

|| अयामचेतसा is explained by S'ankar as equivalent to विवेकबुद्ध्या; by S'ridhar and Madhusūdan as equivalent to भन्तर्गम्यधीनोहं कर्ता इति दृष्ट्या. It means remembering the real relation of the individual and Supreme Soul.

¶ This is explained to be the पूर्वकृतशर्मोर्ध्वविसंस्कारो वर्तमानब्रह्मा दासप्रियत्नः.—(S'ankar)—the effect of the virtuous and vicious acts done in a previous birth.

Effect? Towards its objects every sense
 Has its affections and aversions fixed,
 To them none should submit, for they are his foes.*
 One's duty ill-performed is better far
 Than that of others well performed; † even death
 In one's own duty is to be preferred.
 Fearful is that of others.

Arjun.

But by whom

■ man driven on to sin against his will,
 Offspring of Vṛishṇi! as by force compelled?

Krishna. Desire it is, 'tis wrath, whose birth is from

The quality of Rajas—ravenous he,
 And very sinful. Know that in this world
 That is the foe. As smoke envelopes fire,
 As soilure does a mirror, as the womb
 The foetus, all this † he envelopes so.
 Knowledge's enveloped by this constant foe,
 Oh Kuntī's son! of wise men, who can take
 What forms he will, who's like a fire, § and who

* This, says S'ankar, is in answer to the difficulty that the S'āstras are useless if nature is so potent as described. The answer is, that nature can only work indirectly by means of these affections and aversions, and if one withstands their force, one is then at liberty to follow the S'āstras. When they are succumbed to, the force of nature irresistible.

† This, according to S'ankar, is in answer to one who acts under the guidance of "affections and aversions," and who might say, that since all duties are equally proscribed in the S'āstras he might do whichever he chose.

‡ Explained, according to S'ankar and the other commentators, by what follows. They understand it to refer ■ knowledge. Mr. Thomson understands by 'this' the universe.

§ The commentators take अन्त literally, as "that which never has enough."

Is never filled. The senses, and the mind,
 And steady resolution, have been said
 To be his seat.* With these, he men confounds,
 Covering up knowledge. Therefore first restrain
 Thy senses, foremost of the Bhārata! next
 This sinful thing do cast off, which destroys
 Experience and knowledge.† It is said,
 "Great are the senses, greater is the mind,
 Greater than that is resolution, that
 Which is above this is that same."‡ Thus know
 That which than resolution higher is,
 And by thyself restrain thyself, and kill
 This foe, Oh large-armed one! who can assume
 What form he will, and who is hard to tame.

* Since the operations of the senses and the rest give rise to desire. The mind ■ the faculty which thinks, and doubts, and so forth: the 'steady resolution' is the faculty which resolves and finally determines. संकल्पविकल्पात्मकं मनः । निश्चयात्मिका बुद्धिः.

† Knowledge is that learnt from books or teachers. Experience is that which is acquired by personal perception and so forth.

‡ This Stanza is evidently taken from that in the Kūthopanishad III. 10. There we have no reference to desire, and this is one of the circumstances which lead me to accept the meaning which the commentators put on तः, namely एतस्मात्, in preference to that of Mr. Thomson, namely 'this passion of desire.' According to the meaning of the commentators, Kṛishna tells Arjun to understand the Supreme Soul who is higher than the principles in which desire is seated, and then with that knowledge to destroy the foe by means of self-restraint.

Chapter IV.

Krishna, This lasting system of devotion, I
Told to the Sun, to Manu he declared,
And Manu to Ikshvāku. Thus by steps
Obtained, this system royal sages knew ;
That system, slayer of foes ! has now been lost
By lapse of time. I have to-day told thee
That same primeval system, since thou art
My devotee and friend, for 'tis the best
Of mysteries

Arjun. Later is thy birth, the Sun's
Is prior. How then shall I understand,
'That thou didst first tell him ?

Krishna. Many have been
Our births, Oh Arjun ! thine as well as mine.
I know them all. Not so, Oh slayer of foes !
Knowst thou. Unborn, and inexhaustible,
Lord of all creatures, as I am, I am born
By my delusion, taking the control
Of Nature to myself. * I do create
Myself, whenever piety languishes,
And when impiety's rampant. I am born
In every age the sinful to destroy,
To establish piety, to protect the good.
My birth and work divine whoever thus knows

* A certain distinction is here drawn between प्रकृति and माया. The Śvetāśvataraopaniṣad, however, has a line which runs thus, माया तु प्रकृतेर्विश्वानामासिन् तु महेश्वरम्. But here, माया means more specially the divine power, knowledge, omnipotence and so forth ; प्रकृति refers to the material which goes to the formation of the body taken by the Deity when " born."

Rightly, Oh Arjun! casts this body off,
 Returns not to be born, but comes to me.
 Freed from affection, terror, and from wrath,
 By knowledge-penance* made immaculate,
 Thinking of me alone, and on me resting,
 Many have come into my essence. † I
 Favour men as they come to me; my path
 Men follow from all sides, ‡ Oh Prithā's son!
 Success in acts desiring, people here
 Worship the deities, for in this world
 Of mortals, swiftly is success obtained
 By action. § I created classes four,
 After the apportionment of qualities
 And works. || But though I am their maker, know
 I am not their maker, ¶ inexhaustible.
 Actions defile me not, I have no desire
 Of fruit of actions. He who knows me so
 Is not tied down by action. § Knowing this, ¶

* ज्ञानमेव तपः सर्वकर्मफलहेतुतान् says Madhusūdan. S'ridhar takes it to mean knowledge and penance.

† That is, attained salvation, the assimilation with the Brahma.

‡ This line occurs before but in a different sense. See line 439.

§ S'ridhar says न नु ज्ञानफलं कैरन्यं दुष्कृत्यसाध्यामप्य.

|| See Chapter XVIII. where this is explained at length.

¶ भाषातन्मयहारेण कर्ता परमार्थ-नेरुता says Śaṅkar. The explanation of the paradox seems to be contained in the next Stanza.

§ Since, as S'ridhar says, he who knows that the cause of God's not being affected by acts is his freedom from egoism and desire, will himself get rid of his own egoism &c.

§ Śaṅkar says that this means नाहं कर्ता न मे कर्मफले स्मृतेति ज्ञात्वा—which is unexceptionable; अहंकारादिराहित्येन कुलं कर्म बन्धकं न भवतीत्येवं ज्ञात्वा says S'ridhar—which is less unexceptionable. Mr. Thomson

Those men of old who for salvation wished,
Action performed. Therefore do thou perform
Action* alone, as by the men of old
Was done before thee. Even learned men,
Upon the question what is action, what
Inaction, are confused. Therefore I will speak
Of action to thee. Knowing that, thou wilt
Be freed from evil. Action one must know,
Action prohibited, inaction too,
Abstruse is action's essence.† He is wise
'Mongst men, he is devoted, he performs
All acts, who in inaction action sees,
And in action inaction. Him the wise
Call learned, all whose action by the fire
Of knowledge is burnt down, whose every act
Is all from fancies and desires divorced.‡
Forsaking all attachment to the fruit
Of action, independent,§ at all times

takes the sense back as far as Stanza 13, casting a suspicion on the genuineness of Stanza 14. I do not think his reasons either sound or adequate.

* Not an action, as Mr. Thomson translates it, but action generally, as contrasted with अकर्म. Comp. Chap. III. St. 20 (line 429).

† The commentators render गति by तत्पथ, Mr. Thomson translates it by 'path' but gives no explanation. Action, as the commentators rightly say, stands here for all three. What the abstruseness is is stated in the immediately following lines.

‡ Fancies are the cause of desires—S'ankar. Compare Chap. II. 62 and VI. 4 and 24. S'ridhar says कामः फलं तत्संकल्पेन &c. Madhusudan agrees with S'ankar, but interprets संकल्प by व्यङ्करोमीति कर्तृ-लाभिमानः.

§ Independent: lit. without support; support S'ankar explains to mean that thing, resting on which one wishes to accomplish an end.

Contented, even engaged in action, he
 Does nothing. All belongings casting off,
 Restraining mind and senses,* free from hope,
 And action merely for the body's sake†
 Performing, he comes not by sin. Content
 With earnings not sought after, far above
 The pairs of opposites, from envy free,
 Unmoved on failure and success, he's not
 Tied down, performing actions. All the acts
 Of one without attachment, wholly free,‡
 Of one whose mind is fixed on knowledge, who
 Performs spiritual actions,§ are destroyed.
 Brahma is the oblation; with Brahma it is given;
 Brahma is in the fire; and by Brahma it is thrown;
 And Brahma too the goal, to which he goes,
 Who meditates on Brahma in the act. ||

* भस्मा must here be rendered by 'senses'; Madhusūdan says वायु-
 निव्यसहिती ईहः.

† Madhusūdan takes शरीर to mean शरीरस्पर्शनिमात्रप्रयोजन. He and
 S'aukar have a long discussion as to whether it does not mean
 शरीरनिर्दिष्ट and decide against it. Śrīdhara, however, adopts this
 interpretation, which would seem to be preferable, having regard to
 the next Stanza. See also Chap. III. 7 and 8 (line 388 et seq.).

‡ S'aukar renders the original मुक्त by निवृत्तचक्रौदिवन्धन, Śrīdhara
 says रागादिभिर्मुक्त, and Madhusūdan has कर्तृत्वभोक्तृत्वद्वयनिवृत्त्यर्थम्. Mr.
 Thomson's suggested emendation to युक्त is a very good one.

§ Comp. Chap. III. 9. Here S'aukar renders यज्ञाय by यज्ञनिर्वृत्त्यर्थम्.

|| This identification of every thing with Brahma, furnishes ac-
 cording to S'aukar, the explanation of the 'destruction of acts' men-
 tioned just before. 'With Brahma' means with the Juhvā and other
 sacrificial implements. The last line is thus explained by Śrīdhara
 ब्रह्मण्येव कर्मोत्पत्तेः समाधिस्थितैकात्म्यं वक्ष्य.

Some devotees the sacrifice divine *
 Practise, and others in the fire of Brahma
 The sacrifice offer up by itself. †
 The sense of hearing and the rest some throw
 Upon the fires of self restraint. ‡ And some
 Again upon the sense-fires offer up
 Their objects—sound and others. Others still
 Offer up the functions of the internal winds,
 As well as of the senses, in the fire
 Of self-restraint by knowledge kindled up. §
 Others there are whose offering is wealth,
 Penance, devotion, || study of the Veda,
 Or knowledge; others still of rigid vows—
 The Yatis. ¶ Some offer the upward wind
 Into the downward, and the downward one
 Into the upward, and restraining next
 The motions of them both, are still engaged

* I. e. that in which the Gods are sacrificed to.

† S'aukar takes यज्ञ or sacrifice to mean भात्या, S'ridhar says यज्ञ-
 ब्रह्मार्पणमित्युक्तप्रकारेण यज्ञमुपबुध्यते यज्ञादिसर्वकर्मणि प्रविलीयमानोऽर्थः
 which is more satisfactory.

‡ I. e. practice restraint of the operations of the senses. These
 according to S'ridhar, are वैदिका ब्रह्मचारिणः. Those described in the
 words immediately following are correctly said by him to be those
 who are विश्वभोगसमयेष्वनासकाः.

§ That is to say, says S'ridhar, concentrating the mind properly
 on the thing to be meditated on, and confining the mind to it
 they stop all the workings of the senses &c.

¶ This is here taken in the sense of Patanjali (not that of the Gita)
 viz. चित्तवृत्तिनिरोध 'concentration of mind.'

¶ This is taken as a separate class by Madhusūdan. He says.
 व्रतयज्ञा इत्यर्थः. And see line 862.

In stopping up the lifewinds.* Others yet,
 Eating but little, offer up the winds,
 Into the winds.† Knowing the sacrifice,
 All these have their sins by the sacrifice
 Destroyed. Those go unto the eternal Brahma,
 Who eat the leavings of the sacrifice,
 Ambrosial.‡ Best of Kurus! not this world
 Is theirs, who do no sacrifice perform;
 Whence then the other? Thine out of the Veds,
 Come sacrifices of these various sorts;§
 From action|| know them all to be produced,
 And knowing thus, thou wilt salvation reach.
 The sacrifice of knowledge, slayer of foes!
 Is better than the sacrifice of wealth;
 For each and every action, Prithi's son!
 In knowledge ends. By salutation that,
 By service, and by questions, learn. The wise
 Who see the truth will knowledge teach to you.
 That learning. Pāṇḍu's son! thou wilt not be

* These are the ascetic practices prescribed in the *Yogasāstra*; the operations are technically known as *Pāśak*, *Rechak* and *Kumbhak*.

† S'ankar says वसु वसु वासोवैवः किये इतरान्नायमेवास्मिन्नुद्यमि ते तव प्रविष्टा भवन्ति. S'ridhar takes प्राणान् to mean 'senses.' With this Madhusūdan agrees and cites Patanjali.

‡ Compare Chap. III. St. 13 (line 407).

§ The commentators say, that this means "They are all ordained by the Veds," and S'ankar quotes a passage as an instance. Mr. Thomson renders the words otherwise, but I do not know that there is much propriety in the sense he adopts.

|| That is to say, according to the commentators, they are not the soul's doing. They are, says S'ridhar, शब्दज्ञःकायमानिनाः, but आत्मशब्द-पदसंज्ञारहितः.

Again confounded thus, and through it thou,
 Without exception, wilt all creatures see
 First in thyself, and next in me.* And then,
 Even if thou art of all sinful men
 Most sinful, still wilt thou cross over all sins,
 By means of the boat of knowledge. As a fire
 Kindled, Oh Arjun! burns all fuel down
 To ashes, so the fire of knowledge burns
 All action down to ashes. † Nothing is
 Like knowledge pure; and that one in oneself,
 Perfected by devotion, finds in time.
 One who restrains his senses, who has faith,
 And is assiduous, knowledge obtains;
 Obtaining knowledge, then without delay,
 Reaches supreme tranquillity. But one
 Who has no faith, no knowledge, who's in doubt ‡
 Is ruined. Neither this world, nor the next,
 Nor happiness, are for the sceptic. Acts,
 Oh Conqueror of wealth! shackle not him,
 Who by devotion has all acts renounced,
 Who has destroyed by knowledge all his doubts,
 And who's himself. § Therefore, Oh Bharat's child!
 Destroy this doubt, produced from ignorance,
 And in thy heart residing, by the sword
 Of knowledge. Have devotion, and arise!

* I. e. you will perceive the unity of myself and yourself and all the world—that is to say, get rid of dualism.

† Compare Chap. IV. St. 19 (line 537).

‡ He who has no faith—*acil*, in what the preceptor teaches. He who is in doubt, *acil*, as to whether his endeavours will be successful or not—S'ridhar.

§ अस्मिन्नम्, the original, is explained to mean अप्रमत्तम् in the commentaries. Compare too Chap. II. 13.

Chapter V. *Arjuna's Renunciation*

Arjun. Renunciation of acts thou dost praise,
Oh Kṛishṇa! and also their pursuit,* tell me
For certain, which is better of the two.

Kṛishṇa. Renunciation and pursuit of acts
Are sources both of happiness; of them,
However, pursuit of acts is more esteemed
Than their renunciation.† He who's free
From likes and dislikes should be known to be
The true renouncer; for, Oh large-armed one!
He who's above the pairs of opposites,
Is freed with ease from bonds. 'Tis children talk
Of Sāṅkhya and Yog as different, not the wise;
Pursuing either well, one gets the fruit
Of both.‡ The Yogs go to the selfsame seat,
Which by the Sāṅkhyas is obtained. He sees
In truth, who sees the Sāṅkhya and Yog as one.
'Tis hard, without devotion, large-armed one!
To reach renunciation; but the sage
Having devotion soon the Brahma attains.
Devoted, pure, one who restrains his mind,
Who rules his senses, and identifies
Himself with each and every creature, he,
Performing action, is untainted still.

* Sāṅkar renders कर्मयोग by तेषाम् (acil. कर्मणाम्) धनूषानम्. It may also be devotion by means of them. In substance the two meanings coincide.

† Compare Chap. XVIII. 2 et seq.

‡ As S'rīdhara says, by the Karmayog, one obtains purity of mind, and, by means of that, obtains salvation through right knowledge. By the Samnyāsa, he also obtains the same indirect effects of the Karmayog practised before. This is stated in the next Stanza.

He thinks, who hath devotion, knowledge real,
 That he does nothing, when he sees, hears, sleeps,
 Touches, smells, moves, eats, breathes, talks, takes, or gives
 Raises or drops the eyelids, but believes
 The senses with their objects deal. * He who performs
 Action, and offers it to the Supreme, †
 Without attachment, is not touched by sin,
 Like to the lotus-leaf by water. ‡ Men
 Who are devoted, from attachment free,
 Action perform for purity of soul,
 With the mere body, mind, or resolution,
 Or even the senses. § The devoted man,
 Abandoning the fruit of acts, obtains
 Lasting tranquillity. || He who's attached
 To fruit, without devotion, is chained down
 By action. The embodied soul at ease
 Within the city of nine portals ¶ lies,
 Not doing nor causing, § self-controlled, all acts
 Forsaking by the mind. § 'Tis not the Lord
 Actions or agency creates 'mongst men,

* Compare Chap. III. St. 28 (line 133). Our rendering of which is supported by this passage.

† Compare Chap. III. St. 30 (line 461).

‡ A very common simile in our ancient literature.

§ With the body, bathing and so forth; with the mind, meditation and so forth; with the faculty of resolution, the ascertainment of the truth; with the senses, the hearing and celebrating of God's name and so forth—S'ridhar.

|| Compare Chap. II. 70-71 (line 337 et seq.).

¶ तैवे नमसि के कर्णो मुखं चेति स ह शिरोमनानि भक्त्यगते हे वायुस्थवरे.

§ I. e. not causing anything to be done.

§ Compare III. St. 30. Here S'ankar takes मनसा to mean भक्त्यमचेतसा, which he interprets there to mean निवेकपुत्रसा.

Nor yet does he connect action and fruit,
 But Nature only works.* The Lord receives
 The sin or merit of none. † Knowledge is hid
 By ignorance, thence do all beings err.
 Knowledge, however, to those who have destroyed
 By it their ignorance, shows like the sun
 The Being Supreme. And those who in their minds
 Have Him alone, whose soul is one with Him,
 Who firmly rest on Him, whose final goal
 Is He, they go—go never to return—
 Their sins destroyed by knowledge. On a cow,
 An elephant, a dog, a Chāṇḍāl too,
 And on a Brāhman of humility
 And learning wise men look alike.‡ Even here
 They have conquered the material world, § whose mind
 Is equable. They are with the Supreme;
 For the Supreme is equable, above
 Defects. He who has knowledge of the Brāhman,
 Whose mind is steady, who is not confused,

* S'ridhar and Madhusūdan say that this is an answer to the difficulty.—How can man get rid of acts, when he is but a dependent agent in God's hands? स्वभाव, the word used in the original text, and translated by 'Nature,' is rendered by प्रकृति, in S'aukar's commentary.

† S'aukar renders ■ by ज्ञान. Madhusūdan says प्रभुरात्मा स्वामी.

‡ According to S'aukar and Madhusūdan, the Brāhman has the quality of Sattva or Goodness, the cow that of Rajas or Indifference, and the elephant and the rest that of Tamas or Badness. S'ridhar says, the Brāhman and the Chāṇḍāl are instances of a difference as ■ acts; the elephant &c. of difference as to class.

§ सर्ग, the original word, ■ paraphrased by जन्म 'birth' in S'aukar's commentary, and by संसार in S'ridhar's.

And who is with the Brahma,* does not feel
 Delighted, finding pleasures, nor is grieved
 Coming by illa. One who to external things
 Is unaddicted, feels the happiness
 That's in oneself; and by devotion joining
 His own soul with the Brahma, he obtains
 Eternal happiness.† Oh Kuntī's son!
 Enjoyments which out of the touch arise
 Of the senses‡ are a certain source of illa.
 They do begin and end;§ a prudent man
 No pleasure in them feels. He who can bear,
 Even here, ere he is from this body freed,
 The agitations which desire and wrath
 Produce, he is devoted, happy he.
 He who within himself feels happiness
 And pleasure, and the light of knowledge finds,
 That devotee, one with the soul Supreme,
 Attains the Brahmīc bliss. The sages, too,
 Whose sins have perished, and whose doubts destroyed,
 Who do restrain themselves, who are intent
 On universal happiness, obtain
 The Brahmīc bliss. To those ascetics, who
 Restrain their minds, and keep themselves aloof
 From anger and desire, who know the soul,
 At hand|| is the Brahmīc bliss. He who excludes

* I. e. who has renounced all acts—S'aukar.

† This follows the commentators, and that is the best sense to be got out of the passage as it stands. Mr. Thomson mentions an emendation, which, ■ adopted, would make it much clearer.

‡ The original is simply "from the touch." It means from the touch of the senses and their objects. Compare Chap. II. St. 14.

§ Compare 'they come and go' in Chap. II. St. 14 (line 176).

|| The commentators say 'on both sides'—before and after death. At hand is also admissible, I think.

The objects of the senses, 'twixt the brows
 Centres his vision,* making the upward wind
 And downward even, does within the nose
 Confine their movements, who restrains his mind,
 His senses, and his faculty as well
 Of fixed resolve,† the sage whose final goal
 Is mere salvation, who is free from fear
 Desire and anger, he is ever saved.
 One knowing me attains tranquillity,
 Me—the great God of all the worlds, the friend
 Of all things living, me who do enjoy‡
 All sacrifices and all penances.

Chapter VI.

Krishna. He who, regardless of the fruit of acts,
 Performs his duty is the devotee,
 He the renouncer, not he who discards
 The sacred fire, nor who no acts performs.
 That which is called renunciation, know,
 Oh Pāṇḍu's son! ■ be devotion, since
 None can become a devotee, unless
 All fancies § he renounces. Action's said

* The power of seeing; the original is दृष्टिः ; which must be thus interpreted here. Compare Chap. VIII. St. 10. (line 1037). Mr. Thomson says 'confines his gaze to the space between the eyebrows'. But how can that be done?

† The same word which has been rendered before by 'resolution' or 'steady resolution.'

‡ Śrīdhara suggests an alternative rendering 'protest,' which ■ also admissible.

§ These, as said before, give rise to desires; see Chap. IV. St. 19 (line 558) and note there.

To be a means to that wise man who wants
 To rise up to devotion ; and to him,
 When that ■ reached, tranquillity ■ said
 To ■ a means. Then is one said to have reached
 Devotion, when all fancies casting off,
 One ceases ■ attach oneself to things—
 The objects of the senses—or to acts.
 One should raise oneself by one's mind, nor cast
 Oneself down,* for one's friend as well as foe
 Is one's mind only. To him who has restrained
 Himself † even by his own mind, is his mind
 Friendly ; but then to one without restraint,
 One's own mind like an enemy behaves,
 Injurious. He who has restrained himself,
 And who is tranquil, has a soul intent
 Wholly upon itself, ‡ in cold and heat,
 In honour and dishonour, pain and joy.
 He who restrains his senses, satisfied
 With knowledge and experience, § who unmoved
 By aught, looks on gold, sod, and stone alike,
 Is called a devotee. He's most esteemed,
 Who thinks alike of good and sinful men,

* The words for self and for mind in this and following lines are the same. But the meaning is to be distinguished as above. ' Raise ' act. out of this mortal world. ' Mind ' means according to Madhusūdan ' discrimination.' ' Cast down,' Madhusūdan renders by ' Merge in the ocean of this world.'

† Here आत्मा or self must mean, I think, the ' senses &c.' ■ in St. 10 (line 770).

‡ समहितः ■ rendered by असंनिहः in S'ridhar's, by सख्यत्वात्मभावेन वर्तते in S'ankar's, Commentary.

§ See above Chap. III. St. 41 (line 496)

Of friends, acquaintances, and enemies,
 Of the indifferent those that side with both,
 Of relatives, and those that merit hate.
 Devoid of hopes, restraining mind and sense,
 Alone, without belongings,* and retired,
 Seating himself with firmness in a place,
 Tidy, and not too high nor yet too low,
 With cloth and skin and Kus'-grass covered over,
 A devotee should in devotion still
 Engage. There, fixing on one point his mind,
 The workings of the senses and his thoughts
 Restraining, sitting in his seat, he should
 Practise devotion for self-purity.
 Firm-seated, holding body neck and head
 Unmoved and even, looking at the tip
 Of his own nose, not looking round about,
 Tranquil at heart, devoid of fear, the vows
 Of celibates † observing, and his mind
 Restraining and centering on me, he
 Should sit devoted, given up to me. ‡
 Thus practising devotion, and his mind
 Restraining constantly, a devotee
 Arrives at that tranquillity which leads
 At length unto salvation, and attains

* Compare Chapter IV. 31. अग्र (sense) = ईश --Commentators.

† The original is ब्रह्मचरि, which may be conveniently rendered by celibates. ■ is the stage before a man becomes a Gṛhastha, or married householder, and in which he lives with his preceptor to learn with him.

‡ As distinguished from 'with mind concentrated on me,' 'given up to me' must be taken, as it is by Śrīdhara, to mean 'to whom I am the final goal.'

Assimilation with me. Neither he,
 Oh Arjun ! who eats too much, nor yet who
 Eats not at all, not ■ who ■ disposed
 To too much sleep, nor he who's ever awake,
 Attains devotion. He who takes due food
 And exercise, at work toils duly, sleeps
 And rises duly, the devotion gets
 Destructive of all misery. When the mind
 Restrained, is steadied on the Soul alone,
 Then he who is indifferent to all
 Objects of longing is "devoted" called.
 As standing in a windless place, a light
 Moves not, that is the parallel employed
 About a devotee, who has restrained
 His mind, and in devotion* is engaged.
 That break of all connexion with all pain
 ■ called devotion, one should understand,
 Wherein the mind ceases to work, restrained
 By practice of devotion;† where one sees

* The original word here rendered by "devotion" is still 'योग' but with the addition of भात्मनः. The same remark is to be made on Stanzas 10 and 15 and 28 (lines 774-786-833). What is meant here is concentration of mind.

† Mr. Thomson renders योगसेवा, the original expression, by "worship in devotion." That is certainly wrong. This definition of 'devotion' sins against one of the logical rules of definition, by including the word योग itself in a definition of योग; but this is only apparent, I think. The word योग defined means, I think, the union of the individual with the Supreme Soul—परमात्मनि क्षेत्रज्ञस्य योजनं योगः, as Śrīdhara says. The other word devotion, that to which this note is attached, means the stopping of all workings of the mind—the चित्तवृत्तिनिरोध which Patanjali speaks of.

Oneself by oneself,* and ■ satisfied
 Within oneself; where one attains that joy,
 Transcendent, knowable by the mind alone,
 Beyond the senses; which attained, one never
 Swerves from the truth; and which acquired, one thinks
 No other acquisition higher still;
 Fixed in which, one cannot be shaken off
 Even by the greatest misery. With fixed mind,
 And undespairs heart,† should be attained
 This same devotion. Casting off desires,
 Without exception, of the fancy born,‡
 Restraining all the senses on all sides
 With the mind only,§ one should by slow steps
 Become unmoving,|| with a firm resolve
 Coupled with courage,¶ and upon the soul
 Steadying the mind, should think of nought. Wherever
 The active and unsteady mind breaks forth,
 There should it be restrained, and held confined
 Upon the soul alone. Then happiness
 Supreme comes to this devotee, whose mind
 Is fully tranquil, who is free from sin,
 Who his Indifference§ has tranquilised,

† Mr. Thomeon's translation here, which follows Schlegel's, ■ not at all satisfactory to my mind. The explanation given by the commentators is not only admissible, but makes perfectly clear and good sense.

‡ See above St. 4 (line 749).

§ Compare Chap. III. St. 7. (line 390).

|| Comp. St. 20 (line 806).

¶ धैर्यं युक्त्या ■ S'ankar's paraphrase of the original. This, to a certain extent, explains St. 23 (line 818).

§ The Second of the three qualities about which see Notes and Illustrations.

And merged himself into the soul Supreme.
 Thus practising devotion constantly,
 The devotee, free from all sin, obtains
 With ease the highest happiness, the touch*
 Of the Supreme. And the devoted man,
 Regarding all alike, sees in the soul
 All beings, and in all beings sees the soul. †
 He who sees me in every thing, as well
 As all things in me, him I never forsake,
 And he forsakes me not. ‡ That devotee,
 Who worships me existing in all beings,
 Convinced that all ■ one, exists in me,
 However living. § Arjun ! he is thought
 The greatest devotee, who looks on all
 Pleasure and pain alike, comparing all
 With his own ||

Arjun. Slayer of Madhu ! I see not
 How this devotion (which thou hast declared)
 Through equanimity, can be sustained
 Firmly, because of fickleness ; ¶ for, Krishna !
 The mind is fickle, turbulent, and strong,
 And obstinate ; and its restraint, I think,
 Is difficult as the wind's.

Krishna. Oh large-armed one !
 Doubtless the mind is difficult to restrain,

* Comp. Chap. V. 7 (line 659) and other passages.

† S'ridhar says this means सदात्मर. Ānandagiri takes it to mean नदात्म, which would appear to be the closer interpretation.

‡ I. e. He always sees me, and I always look favourably on him.

§ Even abandoning all action, says S'ridhar.

|| I. e. Who believes that pleasure and pain are liked and disliked by others as they are by himself.

¶ I. e. the fickleness of the mind as shown ■ the next line.

And fickle too; but then, Oh Kunti's son!

■ may by practice and by unconcern,*

Be still restrained. Devotion, I conceive,

Is hard for one devoid of self-restraint;

But for one, who restrains himself, and makes

Efforts, 'tis possible to achieve by means

Of measures apt

Arjun.

Oh Krishna what's the end

Of one, who's not a Yati,† who has faith,

Whose mind is from devotion shaken, and who

Has not attained ■ fully? Does he go

To ruin like a broken cloud, being lost

To both, deluded, on the Brahmic path‡

Unsteady, large-armed one! Krishna, be pleased

This doubt of mine entirely to remove,

For none except thee can remove the doubt.

Krishna. Nor here, nor in the next world, Prithā's son!

Is ruin for him, for none, dear friend! who does

Good deeds, comes to an evil end. A man

Fallen from devotion goes into the world

Of Holy Beings, dwells there many a year,

And then is born into a family

Of great and holy men; or even he's born

Into a family of devotees

Of talent; for more difficult to obtain

Is such a birth in this world. Then he comes

* अज्ञ means indifference to worldly good.

† क्षियन्मानसः says Śrīdhara—one who does not keep up his exercise of devotion. अज्ञ is interpreted to mean one who is assiduous. See too line 590.

‡ 'Both' refers to Heaven the fruit of action, and emancipation the fruit of devotion. 'The Brahmic path' is the path which leads to the Brahman.

In contact with that knowledge which belonged
 To him the previous birth,* and then again
 Offspring of Kuru! for perfection works.
 For even reluctant,† he is led away
 By that same former practice, and transcends
 The word divine,‡ although he only wish
 To learn devotion. Devotees, however,
 Who work with might and main,§ whose sins are cleared.
 Reaching perfection after many births,
 Attain the goal supreme. The devotee
 To the ascetic is superior deemed,
 Superior to the man of knowledge|| too,
 Superior to the doer of mere acts,
 Therefore, do thou become a devotee,
 Oh Arjun! And among all devotees,
 He is by me the most devoted deemed,
 Who, with his inmost soul upon me fixed,
 And being full of faith, doth worship me.

* The knowledge about the Brahma.

† So Śrīdhara interprets अवज्ञः. He says कुत्रचिदन्तरात्मनिकुलपि. This meaning may be derived from its original meaning 'not master of oneself.' Comp. Chap. - III. 5 (line 384).

‡ He rises above the fruits of the actions prescribed in the Veds—S'aukar and Śrīdhara. He becomes fit for the Jñāna stage and rises above the Karma stage—Madhusūdana.

§ As contrasted with the other who might be said to work half-heartedly. S'aukar renders the original here thus :—प्रदत्तात्मयत्मानादधिकतरं यत्नमन इत्यर्थः (?).

|| According to the commentators one who learned in the Śāstras and their meanings.

Chapter VII.

Krishna. And listen now, Oh son of Prithā I now, §
 With thy mind fixed upon me, and on me
 Resting, and practising devotion, thou
 Mayst without doubt fully know me. I will speak
 To thee of knowledge and experience* too,
 Exhaustively. That known, nothing remains
 For thee to know. Thousands of men among,
 'Tis only some that for perfection work.
 And even 'mongst those that do work for and reach
 Perfection, some alone do truly know me.
 Earth, water, fire, air, space, mind, fixed resolve,
 And egoism, my Nature's thus eight-fold
 Divided. † This a lower form; but know
 Another and a higher Nature, which
 Oh large-aimed one! is animate, ‡ and holds
 This world. Know that these§ are the womb of all
 Existences. I am as well the source.

* Compare Chap. III. St. 41 (line 495) and VI. 8 (line 763).

† Compare Chap. XIII. St. 5 (line 1663). For 'my nature' comp. Chap. IV. St. 6. This is in accordance with the Śāṅkhya Philosophy. Chap. I. Sūtra ■ of the current Śāṅkhya Aphorisms says in one part अकृतं तन्मयं तन्मयं, where तन्मयं is identical with बुद्धि in the text; the Tanmātras are subtle rudiments of the earth and so forth in our text; and the first of the तन्मयिन्द्रियम् is the 'mind' in the Gīthā.

‡ अकृतं तन्मयं, say the commentators, the power which sustains the material world. *

§ The commentators take 'एतत्' to refer to both the forms of Nature mentioned. Mr. Thomson takes ■ to refer only to the latter. I prefer the rendering of the commentators, as being supported by Chap. XIII. 26 (line 1733).

As the destroyer of the Universe.
 Oh Conqueror of wealth ! nothing exists
 Besides, superior to me. In me all
 Is woven as pearls in numbers on a thread.
 I am the taste* in water, Kuntî's son !
 I am the light in both the sun and moon ;
 I am the "Om" in all the Veds ; I am sound
 In space ; and manliness in human beings ;
 I am the fragrance in the earth ; I am
 Refulgence in the fire ; vitality
 In every creature ; I am austerity †
 In the ascetic, and Oh Prithâ's son !
 Know me of all existences the seed
 Eternal. I am the intellect of those
 Of intellect ; the glory I of those
 Glorious ; ‡ and of the strong the strength untouched
 By fondness or desire ; § love too I am,
 Prince of the Bhârata ! in all living beings,
 To piety unopposed. || All states of mind,
 Or by the quality of Goodness caused,
 Or of Indifference or Badness, know

* रसः कुण्डो मधुरस्त्वाम्बुः सर्वात्मना सारः कारणभूतो येषु सतीत्यनुगतः
 Madhusûdan. रसवन्मात्रावरुणश्च विभुश्च भावयतेनाप्सु स्थितः S'ridhar. So
 with the rest also.

† I. e. the power to bear the 'pairs of opposites'—S'ridhar and
 Madhusûdan.

‡ प्रागल्भ्य is the synonym for तेजस् given by the commentators.
 Madhusûdan adds परामिषसामर्थ्यं परिधानमिषाभ्यवन्.

§ Desire is the wish to obtain what has not been obtained. Fond-
 ness is the wish to retain what has been obtained.

|| Mr. Thomson, who speaks of the 'egregious error' of his pre-
 decessors, has not rendered this expression accurately in translating
 it by "which is prevented by no law."

To be from me alone; not I in them*
 But they in me exist. This universe
 By these three states, (born of the qualities),†
 Deluded, knows not me, greater than they,
 And inexhaustible. Because divine -
 Is this delusion of mine, the result
 Of the qualities, and difficult to transcend.
 Therefore those only this delusion cross,
 Who rest on me alone. Not those bad men,
 Sinful and foolish, to the ways inclined
 Of demons, who through this delusion are
 Deprived of their discernment, ever do rest
 On me. Oh Arjun! men of classes four,
 Doers of good, it is, that worship me—
 He that's distressed, and he too who desires
 Knowledge, Prince of the Bhārata! he who wants
 Wealth, and he who has knowledge.‡ And of these,
 The man of knowledge, who's devoted still,
 Who worships me alone, the highest status.
 For to the man of knowledge, I am dear
 Above all things, and he is also dear
 To me. Good are they all, but I regard
 As my own self the man of knowledge, who
 With soul devoted me alone accepts—
 Me the goal unexcelled. After the close
 Of many lives, the man of knowledge, knowing

* They do not dominate over me, but I dominate over them.

† गुणमयेः, the original, is rendered by गुणविकारैः पदार्थैः (S'ankar.)
 and भाविः स्वभाविः (S'ridhar.)

‡ Here the commentators interpret ज्ञानी as meaning 'one who has knowledge of the soul' not as in Chap. VI. St. 46. (line 891).

That Vāndev ■ all, looks up to me.*
 Such a high-minded man is hard to find.
 Those who of their discernment are deprived
 By various desires, to other Gods
 Look up, performing various rites, controlled
 By their own nature.† Whosoever desires
 With faith to worship, as a devotee,
 Any one form, ‡ his faith to that alone
 I render firm. With that faith furnished, he
 That form seeks to propitiate, and thence
 The pleasant things he wants receives, yet sent
 By me alone. But that fruit, thus obtained
 By these men, undiscerning, perishes.
 Those who the Deities worship go to them,§
 My worshippers to me. The ignorant
 Think me unseen possessed of form, not knowing
 My inexhaustible, high, unexcelled
 Essence.|| 'Tis not to all I am known, concealed

* प्रवर्तते is explained to mean भवति by S'ridhar and Madhusūdan; प्रवर्तयते by Sankar. And see XV. 4 (line 1860).

† 'Rites'—literally 'regulations'—S'ridhar instances facts and so forth. 'Nature' is here again explained to mean the सम्माननराहित्यं. स्कारविहीन, or as S'ridhar puts it, दूरेभ्यासवासना.

‡ Soil, of the Divinity.

§ And the Deities are not eternal, but as S'ridhar says अन्तर्गन्तः, Therefore the fruit these worshippers obtain is but ephemeral.

|| भाग ■ interpreted to mean सर्व by the commentators. Mr. Thomson observes on this passage, that 'our philosopher would seem to be cutting his own throat on this ground,' but I am not sure that that is so. The true meaning seems to be, that the ignorant think the Divine essence of Vishnu to be no higher than is manifest in the human incarnation, and that gives them no idea of the parity and eternity of the happiness to be enjoyed by propitiation

By the delusion of my mystic power.*

This world, deluded, knows not me unborn

And inexhaustible. Oh Arjun! I

Know things that have been, things that are, and things

That shall be; me, however, nobody knows.

Oh Bharat's child! killer of enemies!

All creatures, when created, are confused

Through the delusion, by the pairs produced

Of opposites, arising out of likes

And dislikes. Men of meritorious acts,

Whose sins have reached their close, firm in their vows,†

Worship me, freed from the delusion caused

By these pairs. Those who for release from death

And old age‡ strive, resting on me, know well

The Brahma, the Adhyātma, and all acts.

And those who know me with the Adhibhūt,

And with the Adhidaiv, the Adhiyajña—

of Vishnu. This, says Krishna, is wrong. Men ought not to confine their view to the human form, which, for a special purpose, I have assumed, but look — my real essence, which is far higher, and judge from that. Compare Chap. IX. St. 11. (line 1136).

* Compare Kathopanishad III. 12. Ś'āṅkar thus explains योगमाया. योगी गुणानां कुक्षिर्घटनं तेषां माया योगमाया; Ś'ridhar says योगी युक्तिर्म-
होयः होत्याधिन्यः प्रज्ञाविज्ञप्तः स एव माया; Madhusūdan says योगी यस्य सं-
कल्पस्तद्वशवर्तिनी माया. I follow Ś'ridhar as being supported by Chap.
IX, St. 5. (line 1114) "My mystic power creates a veil around me
which not every one can pierce through."

† Ś'āṅkar says एवमेव परमार्थतत्त्वं नान्यथेत्येवं सर्वशरीत्यायव्रतेन निश्चितविज्ञाना
दृढमज्ञा इत्यन्ते. Ś'ridhar says एकान्तिनः; and Madhusūdan सर्वथा भगवानेव
भजनीयः स चैकैक्य एवेति प्रमाणजनितमायाम्बुजमुखाभ्युपनिषानाः.

‡ Mr. Thomson proposes to read जन्ममरण for जरा मरण, which
might, perhaps, be a good suggestion, but for its breaking the metre.
And see too Chap. XIII. St. 8. (line 1671) and Chap. XIV. St. 20
(line 1823).

Those men, possessed of minds devoted, know
Me also at the time they hence depart.*

Chapter VIII.

*Akshar-parah
(Purusha)*

Arjun. What is that Brahma, what the Adhyātma, what
Those acts, Oh best of Beings! what is called
The Adhibhūt, and what the Adhidaiv?
And slayer of Madhu! who's the Adhiyajna,
And how within this body; and how too
Art thou known by the men of self-restraint,
When they depart hence?

Krishna. Brahma is the Supreme,
The Indestructible; its change† is called
The Adhyātma; and the offering which is
The cause of the production of all things
And their development—that ■ called act-†

* All this ■ explained in the next Chapter.

† स्वभाव, S'ridhar says स्वस्य ब्रह्मण एवात्मनो जीवद्भूते भगवन् स्वभावः.
S'ankar says परस्य ब्रह्मणः प्रविदेहं प्रत्यगात्मभवः स्वभावी इति स्वभावः स्वभावः.
Madhusūdan says ब्रह्मसत्त्वमेव आत्मनो देहमधिकृत्य भोक्तृत्वात् सर्वमात्मनोपात्त-
मुच्यते. I do not think that Mr. Thomson's translation is satisfactory,
but his explanation follows that of the commentators. 'Change,' too,
is not an unexceptionable rendering; but ■ ■ better than 'nature,'
as showing that स्वभाव is used in a somewhat unusual sense here.

‡ देवदेहिनी चक्षुःपुरीडायाः सत्यं ब्रह्मस्य विवरणम्—S'ankar. From the
offerings to the Gods are produced all things. Ootapara Chap. III.
St. 14. (line 411). This is meant, says S'ridhar, as only an indication,
an example, of all acts. The rendering 'production and development'
is according to S'ridhar. S'ankar says भूतानां जगो भूतमावस्यस्वीकृतो भूतमावी-
कृतस्तं करोतीति भूतमावीकृतकरो भूतमावस्यस्वीकृत इत्यर्थः.

The Adhibhāt ■ all things perishable.*
 The Adhidaivat is the Primal Being.†
 Best of embodied ones !, the Adhiyajna
 Is I myself—I in this body here.‡
 And he who at the time of death departs,
 Abandoning his body, of me alone
 Thinking, he does into my essence come,
 Without all doubt. Likewise, whichever form
 He thinks on, when this body he forsakes
 At last, to that, Oh Kuntī's son ! he goes,
 Having been used to think upon it.§ Hence
 Always remember me and fight, thy mind
 And steady resolution on me fixed,
 Thou wilt come to me alone, there is no doubt.
 For he, Oh Prithā's son ! who with his mind,
 Of the devotion of repeated thought||

* I follow the commentators here also. Mr. Thomson takes the words here to mean "(my) own indivisible (*sic*, it should be divisible) nature," but there is no word answering to '(my) own' in the text. *आत्मा* means 'things,' and I think the sense given by the commentators admissible. And see, Stanzas XIX., XX., XXI. (lines 1067 et seq.), and also Chap. XV. St. 16. (line 1903). *सरोभावः* may also be taken as answering to *समस्तः* above. See further Notes and Illustrations.

† *देवानः सुदेवस्य सवर्गः* says Śrīdhara, following Śaṅkara here as elsewhere.

‡ *I. e.* as Krishna. On all these terms Mr. Thomson's note may be usefully consulted. They refer to the various manifestations of the Brahman.

§ Śaṅkara says तस्मिन्मायस्वरूपः स भावितः स्वर्गमात्मनयाम्बुतो देवः. Śrīdhara has the following सस्य मातौ मायानाचिन्तनं तेन भावितो वासितचित्तः. Madhusūdan states and agrees with both of these interpretations which, indeed, are not very different from one another.

|| Devotion here again should be understood as meaning सत्यवि

Possessed, and steadied on one only, thinks
 Of the Supreme and Heavenly Being,* goes
 To him. He who doth meditate upon
 The ancient sage, the ruler, more minute
 Than the minutest atom, the creator
 Of all, of form incomprehensible,
 Like the sun brilliant, and removed beyond
 Darkness; with faith, and with a steady mind,
 And with the power of devotion, well
 Concentrating his breath between his brows,
 At the hour of death, goes to that Being Supreme,
 Divine. I will speak in brief to thee about
 The seat, which those who know the Veda do call
 The Indestructible, which those who wish
 Practice the life of celibates,† and which
 Ascetics enter, from affections free.
 He who all paths‡ stops up, and in the heart
 Confines the mind,§ shuts up the breath within

or concentration of mind, as in Chap. IV. St. 26 (line 538). So says Madhusūdan. Śrīdhara understands by योऽयं a means, इत्ययं. Śaṅkara does not explain the word. Compare Chap. XII. St. 9 (line 1609).

* Śaṅkara says on the word अनुचित्तवत्, आत्मैक्योपदेशमनुपाय-
 क्रियेतन्, and ■ takes the next stanza as going with this—तमनु-
 चित्तवत्प्राप्तीति पूर्वोक्तं संबन्धः. Śrīdhara says पुनरप्यनुचित्तवत्त्वं पुनरपि विशिष्टादि
 कर्मिणेति द्वावयम्. With this Madhusūdan agrees.

† See note on Chapter VI. St. 14 (line 784.).

‡ इन्द्राग्नि is explained to mean इन्द्रियाग्न्याग्नि by Śrīdhara and Ma-
 dhūsūdan, and apparently Śaṅkara also. May it not refer to the नवद्वाराग्नि
 referred to in Chapter V. St. 13. (line 577)?

§ ब्रह्मविषयस्मरणमप्यनुचित्तवत्त्वैः says Śrīdhara. With this agrees Ma-
 dhūsūdan, and also Śaṅkara, I think, but he says simply निग्रहार्थ-
 तामागच्छ. ■ describes the state in which, as Wordsworth says,
 'Thought is not.'

The head,* adopts a firm devotion, utters
 The single syllable "Om"—the Soul Supreme,†
 And thinks of me, and goes abandoning
 The body thus, reaches the goal supreme.
 To him, Oh Prithā's son! who meditates
 Always on me, with mind not elsewhere moving,
 And without break, and who's a devotee
 Devoted still, I am easy of access. 9
 The high-minded ones coming to me, do never
 Return ■ life—transient, a house of woes—
 Having attained supreme perfection. Worlds
 Oh Arjuni! up to that of Brahmā, all
 Are fated to return, but Kuntī's son!
 Coming to me, there is no birth again.‡
 Those who a day of Brahmā know, which ends
 After a thousand ages, and a night
 Which ends after a thousand ages, are
 The men who know both day and night.§ All things

* Compare St. 10 (line 1035) *supra*.

† I, e. signifying the Supreme Soul ब्रह्मणेति शानभूतम् says S'ankar.
 Comp. Chap. XVII. St. 23 (line 2075).

‡ That is to say, persons, who go to any of the worlds up to and including the world of Brahmā, are destined to be born again. Only those who reach Viṣṇu's abode are rid of birth and death for ever.

§ S'ankar says, that this explains why the abodes of Brahmā and the others are held ■ be not everlasting. The reason is, that they are limited by time; they are not beyond time. S'ridhar says, that the intention is to show how the higher worlds are superior to the 'three worlds' so called, and thus to explain those texts in which the attainment of those other worlds is stated as something excellent, a doubt arising about their value from what has just been said about their not being everlasting. Madhusūdan agrees with S'ankar. S'ridhar's note on the 'Yuga' may be here epitomised. A human year ■ a day and night ■ the Gods, 12000 years made up of days of this duration make up the 'quaternion of ages.' A thousand such 'quater-

Perceptible are born from "The Unperceived"
 Upon the approach of day; and they dissolve
 In that same thing, called "The Unperceived," upon
 The approach of night.* This mass of entities,
 Also, produced once and again, dissolves
 Upon the approach of night; and Prithā's son!
 Upon the approach of day, devoid of power,
 It is sent forth.† There is an entity,
 However, unperceived, apart from this
 Which ■ perceived, above it, and eterne,
 Which perishes not, though all these entities
 Do perish—it ■ called The Unperceived,
 The Indestructible; the highest goal
 They call it; that attained, none ever returns.
 That's my Supreme Abode.‡ Oh Prithā's son!
 This Highest Being, who all this pervades,
 In whom live all existences, can through
 Devotion undivided be attained
 The time, Prince of the Bhārata! I will tell thee,
 When devotees that go, go to return,
 Or never to return. The flame of fire,
 The day, the light half-month, and the six months

nions' make up a day of Brahmā, and a similar one his night. Of such days and nights Brahmā has 100 years as the measure of his life.

* Compare Chap. II. St. 28. (line 267). Sāṅkar says अत्यन्त means प्रजापतैः स्थापितम्. The same idea as here may be seen in Kālidāsa's Kumār Sambhava II. 8.

† अथ ■ said ■ mean अस्तित्व by Sāṅkar. Śrīdhara says परतन्त्रः सन्. See Chap. III. St. 5. (line 384). ■ means, 'having no of its own'.

‡ Compare Chap. XV. St. 6. (line 1870). धाम, which means abode, also means 'glory;' and hence Śrīdhara takes it here to mean स्वर्ग. The line may then mean 'That is my supreme and glorious form.'

Of the northern solstice—those who know the Brahma,
And die in these, repair unto the Brahma.

The smoke, the night, the dark-half, the six months

Of the southern solstice—in this period

The devotee reaches the lunar light,*

And then returns.† These two paths, light and dark,

* The commentators endeavour very strenuously to reconcile this with the Vedāntic propositions on the subject. (See these expounded in the S'ārirak Bhāṣya Chap. IV. Pāḍ 2, Sūtras 17 et seq., and Pāḍ 8. Sūtras 4-6.) They understand all the different things mentioned here as standing for the Deities appertaining to them. Thus Fire means the God of Fire and so on. S'ānkar also suggests an alternative interpretation for the first two, Fire and flame, namely that they both signify Deities presiding over time. But this I do not quite understand. The whole interpretation presents this difficulty, that the passage purports to state the time in which one dying returns not to the world. S'ridhar gets over this by explaining the whole passage as follows :—यस्मिन्कालमिमानिदेवतानपलक्षिते यस्मिं प्रयत्ना येयिनः...यथोक्तमना-

निभावरत्नं च यस्मिन् तं कालमिमानिदेवतानपलक्षितं यस्मिं कथयिष्यामि. The substance of this is that 'the time when' means 'the path, indicated by a Deity presiding over time, by which.' It is somewhat difficult to accept this interpretation. And S'ānkar's remarks under Brahma Sutra IV. ■ 21 evidently show, that he thought the passage ought to be taken to refer ■ 'time,' although ■ hints ■ a different interpretation. One difficulty still remains, however; what is the meaning of 'fire' when the question is about 'time'? S'ridhar says that the word 'time' is used here, having regard to the large number of words signifying parts of time, although 'fire' itself has no connection with time. अभिप्रेक्षितोः कालमिमानिमाभवेद भूयस्तमह-

दादिवायुःकानां कालमिमानिनां साहचर्यमाश्रयमभिव्यक्तिरन्तःकालशब्देनोपलक्ष्यमसिद्धम्. I own, I have no clear notion of the meaning of the word 'fire' here. The difficulty almost tempts me to accept even the meaning given by the commentators to the whole passage.

† Mr. Thomson thinks, that this whole passage has a metaphorical force, and that it is the Philosophers of the Uttar Mīmāṃsā school, who have made the mistake of interpreting ■ literally. I think the passages in the Chāndogyaopaniṣad, which seems to be the original of the passage in the Gītā, cannot be understood

Are deemed to be eternal in this world.*
 Taking the one, one goes never to return,
 By the other comes again. No devotee,
 Oh son of Prithā! knowing these two paths,
 Is ever confounded;† therefore, Arjun! be
 Possessed at all times of devotion. This‡
 Knowing, the devotee rises above
 All the holy fruit laid down for penances,
 For study of the Veds, for giving alms,
 For sacrifices; and he does repair
 To the transcendent, the primeval, seat.

Chapter IX.

Krishna. Of knowledge and experience—mystery

Supreme—I will speak to thee who dost not carp.

Knowing that, thou from evil shalt be freed.

Of sciences and secrets, 'tis the chief,§

metaphorically, but must be understood in the sense which the commentators attach to it. Besides, I cannot see why there should be much difficulty in accepting the lunar world as a place for enjoyment of an inferior sort. After all, what is the Heaven which the Gītā speaks of in Chap. IX. St. 21, but something like the moon? As to the ground for saying that the moon is a place for enjoyment, that is an entirely different question, which might be pertinently asked of several other 'superstitions' than this one.

* I. e. as Śrīdhara says, for those who are fitted for the paths of knowledge or action.

† I. e. says Śrīdhara, does not desire Heaven as giving happiness, but is steady in devotion to God; because, I take it, he sees that any other course would not free him from repeated birth and death.

‡ I. e. All that is stated in this Chapter—Sankar.

§ This according to the commentators. The rendering 'kingly mystery' is scarcely satisfactory. See 1 Siddhanta Kaumudī 482.

The best of purifiers, not opposed
 To law, directly knowable, not hard
 To practise, and imperishable. Those
 Who on this holy doctrine place no faith,
 Oh slayer of foes ! obtain not me, but come
 Back to this mortal world. By me whose form
 Is imperceptible, is all this world
 Pervaded. All existences in me
 Live,* but not I in them. Nor yet do these
 Existences live in me. See my power†
 Divine. Supporting and producing all
 Existences, my spirit stands not in them.
 Know, as the mighty air, pervading all,
 Always remains in space, so in me stand
 All these existences. Oh Kunti's son !
 Upon the expiry of a Kalpa, all things
 Into my Nature‡ go, at the opening
 Of the Kalpa, I send them forth again. I send
 Now and again this mass of entities,

* Compare Chapter VII. St. 12. (line 936), Things live in him, he being their cause and their support. He lives not in them, because he is untainted by anything, like space, say the commentators. From this last standpoint, follows the next assertion that the things do not live in him. Mr. Thomson's explanation makes the passage quite clear.

† The word used here is *वीर्य*, and S'ankar here interprets it thus, *वह्नौ मे वीर्यं कुम्भिः दहनं* :

मिरयैः. Compare. Chap. VII. St. 25 (line 980).

‡ On this S'ridhar says *भस्मोद्वेष्टीरप्यनारविषमार् दृष्टान्तेनार*. As space is untainted and unaffected by the air which yet remains in it, so I am unaffected by all things which yet are in me. *मय्यसंवेष्टेन स्थितामि* says S'ankar.

§ Once more we have 'my Nature.' Compare Chap. VII St. 4 (line 910),

Entire, devoid of power,* by means of the power
 Of Nature, taking its control myself.†
 But not these actions, Conqueror of wealth !
 Shackle me,‡ standing like one unconcerned,
 And to them unattached. Nature gives birth
 To immoveables and moveables, through me
 The supervisor, and in consequence
 Of this,§ Oh Kuntī's son ! the world moves on.
 Deluded people of vain hopes, vain acts,
 Vain knowledge,|| who towards the natures tend¶,
 Delusive, of Asurs and Rākshases—
 Fatuous, they disregard me as I am
 Invested with a human form, not knowing
 My highest nature as great Lord of all.‡
 But the high-souled ones, Oh son of Prithā ! who
 Tend to the nature of the Gods, do know

* Compare Chap. VIII. St. 19. (line 1068).

† Comp. last note but one and line 319. We have 'my nature' here also.

‡ भूयद्गमं विवमं विदधतलक्ष्मिचारात् अमर्षमोर्षा संवन्धः स्थाविरौदमार्थ
 says S'ankar.

§ I. e. this supervision--भवेन प्रवक्षिणनेन हेतुना says S'ridhar. S'ankar agrees with this.

|| Hope—that some other Deity will give them the fruits of their acts. The acts are vain, because they are not offered up to the Supreme Being. The knowledge is vain, as abounding in various foolish doubts and puzzles. So says S'ridhar. Madhusūdan says :—The hope is that their acts will yield them fruits independently of God. As to the other two, Madhusūdan quite one with S'ridhar.

¶ It is rather difficult to render भिन properly. 'Adopt' signifies an act voluntarily done. Mr. Thomson has 'inclina,' and following him I take 'tend' as the best word I can find. Mr. Thomson is in error in translating दीर्घिनी by deluded. It means 'deluding.'

‡ Compare Chap. VII. 24 (line 979) and our note there, which is supported by this passage.

Me inexhaustible, and source of things,
 And worship me with minds not elsewhere turned.
 Always devoted, they do worship me,
 Singing my glories constantly, in vows
 Steady, and working,* and saluting me
 Devotedly.† And others worship me,
 The sacrifice of knowledge offering up,
 As one, as separate, as pervading all,‡
 Variousy.§ I am the Kṛatu, I the Yajna.||

* Working for knowledge of God's greatness, according to S'ridhar; for an idea of his real nature, according to Madhusūdan; for self-restraint and such other acts of piety, says S'ankar.

† भक्ति is the original which means devotedness. The commentators render it by परं प्रेम—intense love.

‡ विश्वोमुख lit. having faces towards all sides, is rendered by विश्वरूप by S'ankar; and by सर्वभूमि by S'ridhar; and by सर्वभूमिन् by Madhusūdan.

§ The sacrifice of knowledge means, according to S'ridhar, the sacrifice (यज्ञ) consisting in the knowledge that Vāsudev is all. The last words are thus explained by S'ridhar:—"as one" means with the feeling of all being one; "as separate" means with a feeling of difference—oneself being servant of God; "as all-pervading" is clear. "Variousy" is taken to refer to the different forms in which the Supreme is held before the mind, as Brahmā, Rudra, &c. S'ankar's interpretation is slightly different. The first "as one" is explained as by S'ridhar; the second by "with a feeling that the sun, moon, &c., are really Vishnu in different forms"; the third by "with a feeling that the Supreme exists variously." यजुर्नाम is explained by यजुर्माकारेण—[worship] in a variety of ways. Madhusūdan says, the three stages are these. In the first, the man identifies himself with the Supreme (For this he cites the Upanishad text त्वं स हि साहसि त्वं अस्य ईश इति मयि त्वं स हि साहसि). In the second, he takes the several "Pratīkas" stated in Vedic texts (अग्निदेव्यो ब्रह्मदेव्यश्च; &c). In the third the man worships another Deity altogether.

|| Kṛatu is that laid down in S'ruti; Yajna that in Smṛiti, say S'ankar and the other commentators.

I am the libation to the manes, I
 The product of the herbs;* the sacred verse
 I am; the sacrificial butter I,
 I am the fire, I am the offering,
 I am the father of this Universe,
 The mother, the supporter, the grandsire,
 The purifier, the thing to be known,
 The Om, the Rik, the Sām, the Yajus too,
 The goal, and the sustainer, and the Lord,
 The supervisor, and the residence,†
 The asylum, and the friend, the source as well
 As the destroyer, the receptacle,‡
 And the support, the imperishable seed.
 Heat I do cause, and showers I pour down
 And stop. Oh Arjuna! I am nectar, I
 Am death, I am that which is, and which is not.§
 Those who do study the three Veds, and who
 The Som-juice drink, who of their sins are cleared,
 Performing sacrifices for me,|| pray
 A passage into Heaven, and attain
 The holy world of Indra, and there in Heaven
 Enjoy the Heavenly pleasures of the Gods.

* The food produced from vegetables. Śrīdhara says, it may also mean 'medicine.'

† Supervisor *scil.* of all the acts and omissions of living creatures; (Śāṅkara) residence, is the place of enjoyment (Śrīdhara and Madhusūdana).

‡ उपस्थानम् says Śrīdhara. Madhusūdana says निधीयते काष्ठान्नरी-
पमोयं वस्तुविमर्शिते.

§ That which ■ grows and that which is subtle (Śrīdhara). According to Śāṅkara, they mean the effects and the causes—कार्यकारणे.

|| I. e. sacrifices given to me in the form of Indra and others.

Having enjoyed that great celestial world,
 Their merit being exhausted, they return
 Into this mortal world.* These who adopt
 The Vedic ordinances, for things of sense
 Desirous, in this manner go and come.
 To those who meditate on me alone,
 And worship me, and who are constant, I
 Give and preserve what's given.† Those also, who
 Being devotees of other Gods, imbued
 With faith, do worship, worship me, Oh son
 Of Kuntī! but not as they ought.‡ For I,
 Of every sacrifice am both the lord
 And the enjoyer.§ But they knew me not
 Correctly, therefore do they fall.|| The men
 Who to the Gods make vows¶ go to the gods,
 And those who make vows to the manes go
 To them, the worshippers of the Bhūta, too, go
 To them, and those who worship me to me.
 Whoever with devotion offers me
 Leaf, flower, fruit, water—that from that pious man,
 Brought on out of devotion, I accept—

* Compare *Brahma Sūtra* III. 1. 8. (p. 738) and *Gītā* line 1088.

† Constant means always given up to me. 'Give and preserve'—the expression is *दातव्यं* for which compare *Chap. II. St. 45* (line 274).

‡ Compare *Chap. XVI. St. 17* (line 1976). In worshipping the other Deities, they worship Vishnu in effect, but not directly, and not with the knowledge that they worship Vishnu. Śaṅkar says *सर्वविद्यात्मनः*, Śrīdhara has *योगात्मकं विधिं विना*. Madhusūdan follows Śaṅkar. What follows explains these words.

§ Comp. *Chap. V. St. 29* (line 734); lord-giver of the fruit.

|| I. e. return to this world.

¶ Compare *Chap. VII. St. 23* (line 975). Śaṅkar says *देवैः सर्वं विद्यमानं तेषां देवां*.

Whatever thou dost, whatever thou eatst, whatever
Thou sacrificest, and whatever thou givest,
Whatever penance thou performest, Oh son
Of Kuntī ! do as offered unto me.*

Thus shalt thou be released from ties of acts
In good or ill resulting, and possessed
Of this devotion, this abandonment,†
Freed, thou shalt come to me. I am alike
To every creature, none is odious
To me, none dear. But those who worship me,
Are in me, and I am in them.‡ Even though
An ill-conducted man should worship me,
None other worshipping, he must be thought
A saint, for he has well resolved.§ He soon
Becomes a pious man, and then attains
Endless tranquillity. Oh Kuntī's son !
Be thou assured,|| never is my devotee

* Compare Chap. III. St. 30 (line 461) and other passages.

† संन्यस—The word which has been rendered by 'renunciation' before. This mode of action is at once devotion and renunciation. ■ is renunciation, because it is offered to another; ■ is devotion, because, in such a case, he cares not for the fruit of the acts, Compare VI. 2 (line 741-2). Mr. Thomson takes संन्यस and योग as two different things here, and the whole as a Dvandva Compound. I prefer the commentators' view supported by the passage just cited.

‡ 'They are in me' by their devotion; 'I am in them,' as giver of happiness to them (Śrīdhar). Comp. Chap. VI. St. 30 (line 640). Śrīdhar says वक्ष्यते: स्वसेवकेभ्यः स्वःस्वीयदिदुःखमपकुर्यादेवे न वैषम्यं यथा वा कल्पवृक्षस्य तथैव भक्तवत्सलादिनोपि मम वैषम्यं. मात्सेयं किदु मयैकैरेवमं यस्मिन्.

§ Namely, that the Supreme Being alone should be worshipped.

|| The commentators take मयिमान्निहि in the ordinary sense 'de-

Ruined. To me resorting, even those,
 Oh Prithā's son! who are of sinful birth,*
 Women, and Vais'yas, S'ādras too, attain
 The goal Supreme. What needs then to be said
 Of Holy Brāhmanas, and of royal saints
 Devoted. Having come into this world,
 Transient, unhappy,† worship me. On me
 Steady thy mind; become my devotee;
 Worship me; bow to me; and thus engaged
 Still in devotion,‡ making thy resort
 Me only, thou shalt surely come to me.

Chapter X.

Krishna. Once more, Oh large-armed one! hear thou my words, Important, which, solicitous for thy good, I speak to thee delighted.§ Not the hosts Of gods, nor mighty sages know my source; clare, and add 'among persons who may raise disputes about it.' This is not inadmissible, but it is rather farfetched, and on the other hand, our meaning is not the usual one.

* S'ankar takes Vais'yas &c. to be specific examples of this. S'ridhar takes ■ to refer to भक्तवत्सलः and to mean निकृष्टस्मानः. S'ankar says वापनि कोनिरेषां च.

† Comp. Chap. VIII. St. ■ (line 1033).

‡ Compare Chap. VI. St. 19 (line 535) and note there.

§ Mr. Thomson translates the word here by 'whom I love.' I prefer the rendering of the commentators, for which भक्तवत्सलः in Chap. IX. St. 1 (line 1103) furnishes a good parallel: प्रीयते means 'pleased' as in प्रीयते यः सुप्रसिद्धः; निर्वरं स पुत्रो &c., and the passive of that would mean 'to be pleased.' परम (important) = परमात्मनिष्ठ S'ridhar.

For I am the origin of all the gods
 And mighty sages. * He among all men
 Who, undeluded, knows me as unborn,
 Without beginning, the great Lord of the world,
 Is from all sins released. Intelligence,
 Knowledge,* and freedom from delusion too,
 Patience, truth, self-restraint, tranquillity,
 Pleasure, and pain, birth, death, and safety, fear,
 Contentment, equability, besides
 Austerities, harmlessness, glory, shame,
 Alms-giving—all these tempers different
 Of creatures flow from me alone.† The seven
 Great sages, and the Manus, the Ancients four,
 Whose off-spring are these people in the world,
 Partaking of my powers, all were born
 From my mind.‡ He who rightly understands
 My emanations and my powers§ thus,
 Attains unmoved devotion, there is no doubt.

* S'ankar says बुद्धिरन्यः करणस्य तून्मयसर्वविशेषनसमर्थः..... ज्ञानमात्मा-
 निपदार्थानामसंकेतः.

† The words used in the original do not always signify 'tem-
 pers' or states of mind. But the 'tempers' answering to the si-
 gnifications must be understood. Compare Chapter VII. St. 12.
 (line 936).

‡ "The ancients four," means Sanak, Sanandan, Sanatkar
 and Sanatkumar. S'ankar would seem to take चत्वारो as going with
 मनसः and adds सप्तर्षी इति प्रसिद्धाः. But the Manus are fourteen. 'From
 my mind'—S'ribhar says संवन्मनात्सकलमाः.

§ See. Compare Chap. IX. St. 5. (line 1114). On विद्युति see the
 Chapter passage.

The wise, being full of love,* do worship me,
 Thinking that I am the source ■ all, that all
 Moves on through me. They rest contented, pleased,
 Fixing their minds on me, and offering
 Their lives to me,† speaking of me, each other
 Teaching. To these, devoted constantly,
 Who with love worship, I communicate
 That knowledge‡ by which they do come ■ me.
 And 'tis of such men only I destroy,
 Being within their hearts, the darkness born
 Of ignorance, by means of the bright lamp
 Of knowledge, through compassion for such men.§

Arjun. Transcendent Brahms thou, the final goal,
 The Holiest of the Holy, too, thou art.
 All sages call thee the Eternal Being,
 Divine, the first of Deities, Lord, Unborn.
 So say the sages, so the sage divine—
 Nārada—so Asit, Deval, and so Vyās;
 And so, Oh Kṛṣṇ! thou tellest me thyself.
 I do believe all that thou sayest ■ true.
 For Oh great Lord! nor god nor demon knows
 Thy incarnation,|| thou alone dost know

* So Śrīdhara. Śaṅkara interprets the original word to mean, परमात्मस्वाभिनिर्देश. Comp. सर्वज्ञेय Chap. XVIII. St. 62 (line 2320).

† Śaṅkara says अयमुत्सृज्यमान इत्यर्थः भवता मङ्गलकीर्तनाः. Śrīdhara agrees; मङ्गलकीर्तना is the alternative he gives.

‡ बुद्धिपूर्व योगमुपपद्यते says Śrīdhara. बुद्धिः सम्पन्नत्वेन तेन योगः says Śaṅkara; with this Madhusūdana agrees.

§ आत्मनो आत्मन्युत्तराश्रयः says Śaṅkara. बुद्धिपूर्वो विपश्चिद्विषयः says Śrīdhara. There is a slight difficulty about आत्म on this construction.

|| अज्ञेय is प्रथम, according to Śaṅkara; अज्ञिमान्, according to

Thyself by thyself, Best of beings! Lord
 Of the Universe! Maker of all that is,
 And master! God of gods! Oh be thou pleased
 Thy glorious emanations to describe,
 Fully, by which thou permeatest all
 These worlds. Oh glorious one!* how shall I know
 Thee, fully meditating at all times?
 In what forms of existence, Oh great Lord!
 Should I upon thee meditate? Once more
 Janārḍan! tell me of thy powers at length,
 And of thy emanations; for to hear
 This nectar, I feel no satiety.

Krishna. Well, first of Kurus! I will describe to thee
 My emanations glorious, but the chief
 Alone, for there's no end to my extent.
 I am the soul, Oh Lord of Sleep! in the hearts
 Fixed, of all creatures. The beginning I,
 The middle, and the end of every being.
 Amongst the Ādityas I am Vishṇu. I
 Among the shining bodies am the Sun
 Beaming. I am Marīchi 'mongst the winds.
 The Moon among the Nakṣatras I am.
 Among the Veds I am the Sām-ved.† I
 Among the gods am Vāsav. I am the mind

S'ridhar who says देवा अस्मदनुसारायैवनामिष्यतिरिति न ज्ञानमिदं ज्ञानम्.
 आत्मानमनुसारायैविति न विदुर्देव.

* वीक्ष्यो नामैश्वर्यं तदस्मदनुसारीति वीक्ष्य, says Anandagiri, which seems to be justified by the context. Otherwise it might be taken as equivalent to वांक्षेयम्.

† Compare Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. III. 23. p. 68 (Haug's Ed.).

Among the senses. I am consciousness*
 Among all creatures. S'ankar too I am
 Among the Rudras, and I am the Lord
 Of wealth among the Yakshas, Rakshases.
 Among the Vasus I am Fire. Among
 Mountains hightopped I am Meru. Know, O son
 Of Prithā! I am Bṛhaspati, the chief
 Of priests domestic. Generals among
 I am Skanda. I am ocean amongst reservoirs
 Of water. And among the sages great
 I am Bhṛigu. I am the single syllable Om
 'Mongst words. Among all forms of worship I am
 The Jap. Amongst the firmly-fixed ones
 I am the Himālaya. Of all trees I am
 The As'vattha. Sages divine among
 I am Nārada. And among the Gandharvas
 I am Chitrarath. Among the perfect ones
 I am the sage Kapil. Among horses know
 Uchchais'ravas I am, through the nectar fount.†
 Airāvata I among great elephants.
 A prince 'mongst men. I am the thunderbolt
 'Mongst weapons. And among all cows I am
 The cow Kām-dhenu. Likewise I am Love
 Which generates. I am Vāsuki 'mongst snakes.
 Ananta, too I am the Nāga among.
 I am Varuṇ 'mongst aquatic beings. I
 Among the manes am the Aryama.
 Amongst the regulators I am Yama.

* S'ankar says कार्यकारणसंज्ञोऽस्मिन्मया पुनर्निर्दिष्टः. S'ridhar भूतानां सं-
 निधीयतेना ह्यनन्तशक्तिरस्मिन्. Madhusūdan विरमिष्यति का पुनर्निर्दिष्टः.

† I. e. found ■ the course of the labours for obtaining the Amrit,
 namely the churning of the ocean.

Pralhād I am among the Daityas. ■
 Am Time among the things that count.* I am
 The prince of beasts among the beasts, 'mongst birds
 The son of Vinatā.† I am the wind
 'Mongst purifiers. Among those that wield
 Weapons, I am Rāma.‡ Among the fishes, I
 Am Makar, among streams the Jāhnavī,
 I am the beginning, as well as the end,
 The middle, too, Oh Arjun! of creations.§
 I am the science of the soul among
 The sciences, of controversialists
 The argument.|| Among the letters I am
 The letter A, and 'mongst the various sorts
 Of compounds I am the Dvandva.¶ I alone
 Am Time eternal, the creator I
 Whose faces are in all directions.♠ Death

* It is difficult to say what this precisely means. S'ankar says कालः कलपनां कलने गणनं कुर्यादमहम्. S'ridhar कलपतां वशीकुर्यात् गणयतां वा मध्ये कालोऽहमस्मि. Madhu-śūdan कलपतां संस्थानं गणनं कुर्यात् मध्ये कालोऽहम्. Under St. 33 S'ankar says कालः कलपन्नमहमित्युपायुर्गणनात्मकः संवत्सर-वातायानुःसङ्गः काल उक्तः स च तद्विमलायुषे धीषि सति धीयते भवतु प्रवासात् त्वदो धयः काल उच्यते इति विज्ञेयः. This furnishes a passable explanation

† Garud.

‡ The son of Das'arath.

§ St. 20 (line 1280) refers to the animate creation only. This verse to everything—S'ankar.

|| S'ridhar says, वादस्तु शिवरामयोः शिष्यपार्श्वयोस्त्वस्मान्द्वयगच्छः श्रुतीक्षी भेदतान्मद्विभक्तिः.

¶ Mr. Thomson's rendering of this is quite incorrect.

♠ कर्मकलपिषामृणां मध्ये विचित्रेमुक्षी भवतु सर्वकर्मकलपिषाणाहमित्यर्थः—S'ridhar. See Chap. XI. St. 11 (line 1390) and note there.

That seizes all I am. I am the source
 Of what's to be.* I am fame, and fortune, speech,
 And memory, and patience, intellect,
 And perseverance among females.† So
 Among Sām-hymns the Bṛihatam I am.
 Among the metres I am Gāyatrī.
 I am the Mārgas'irsha among the months.
 The spring among the seasons. I am the game
 Of dice of cheats. And of the glorious
 I am the glory. I am victory,
 I am industry, the goodness of the good.
 I am Vāsudav among the Vrishapis. I
 Among the Pāṇḍavs am the Conqueror
 Of wealth. Among the Munis I am Vyās.
 I am the discerning Us'anas of those
 Who have discernment. Among teachers I am
 The rod.‡ I am the polity§ of those
 That wish for victory. Silence I am
 'Mongst secrets.|| And the knowledge I am of those
 Who knowledge have attained. Whatever's the seed
 Of Arjun! of all beings, that I am.
 Nothing there is, or moveable or fixed,
 Which ■ without me. Slayer of foes! no end

* Śaṅkar says कृत्स्नं कर्तव्यं भूयस्त्वत्प्राप्तिर्ननु कर्तव्यं केन भविकर्तव्यत्वानामुक्त्यै-
 प्राप्तिर्वीर्यानामित्यर्थः. With him Ś'ridhar and Madhusūdan concur.

† ... एता उच्यन्तेः श्रीकृष्णइत्यदिमं सप्तम्यभाष्यमात्रं संश्लेषेणैव श्रीकृष्णः
 कृतार्थमात्मानं वक्ष्यन्ते—Śaṅkar.

‡ भवान्मत्तानां दमनकारणम् says Śaṅkar. केनालंभ्यता भवि संश्लेष भवन्ति क
 इत्येवमिहोक्तिः Ś'ridhar.

§ सप्तम्युच्यन्तेः says Ś'ridhar.

|| न हि तूष्णीं निवृत्तस्य भविष्ये इत्येव says Ś'ridhar.

There's of my emanations glorious.
 Here their extent is but in part declared
 By me. Whatever thing there is of power,
 Glorious, or splendid, know all that to be
 From portions of my energy produced.
 Or rather, Arjun ! what hast thou to do
 With this variety of knowledge ? I
 Do stand, supporting all this universe
 By but a single portion of myself.

Chapter XI.

Arjun. Gone now is my delusion by the words
 Momentous and mysterious, which thou hast
 Spoken for my behoof, and which concern
 The Adhyātma.* I have heard from thee ■ large,
 Oh lotus-eyed one ! of the birth and death
 Of beings, and about thy greatness, too,
 Imperishable. All, Oh Highest Lord !
 That thou hast stated now about thyself,
 ■ so. But still, Oh Best of Beings ! I
 Desire to see thy mighty form divine.
 If thou, Oh Lord ! shouldst think me capable
 Of looking on it, show thyself to me
 Lord of Devotion ! inexhaustible,
Krishna. In hundreds and in thousands see my forms,
 Oh Prithā's son ! all various and divine,
 Of various colours, and of various shapes.

* Literally, "called the Adhyātma," but the commentators seem to
 ■ correct in their interpretation which is followed above—आत्मनात्मनि-
 कतिपयम् say Śaṅkar and Śrīdhara.

The Rudras, Vasus, and the Ādityas,
 The As'vins, as well as the Maruts, see.
 Off-spring of Bharat! many a wonder see
 Unseen before. Now the whole universe,
 Moving and fixed, observe here all in one,
 Within my body, and Lord of sleep! whatever
 Else too thou dost desire to see. But Oh!
 Not with this eye alone of thine wilt thou
 Be capable of looking at me. I
 Give thee an eye divine. Do thou now see
 My godly mystic power.*

Sanjaya. Then, Oh king!
 The great Lord of Devotion, Hari, thus
 Having said, showed to Prithā's son his form—
 Supreme, divine, with many a mouth and eye,
 Presenting many a wondrous sight, bedecked
 With many a heavenly ornament, and wielding
 Many a heavenly weapon, wearing flowers
 And vestments heavenly, with heavenly perfumes
 Anointed, full of wonders—the infinite
 Delty with faces turned to every side.†
 If in the Heavens all at once burst forth
 The brilliance of a thousand suns, it would
 Be to the brilliance of that mighty one
 A parallel. Then Pāṇḍu's son beheld,
 There in the body of the God of gods,
 All in one place, the universe complete,
 Divided variously.‡ The Conqueror

* Compare Chap. IX. St. 5 (line 1114) and note there.

† Compare Chap. IX. St. 15 (line 1147). Here, too, S'aukar says
 दशतीमुग्रं सर्वभूतात्मनाम्,

‡ I. e. in its various divisions as gods, manes, men, and so forth—
 S'aukar.

Of wealth, then filled with great astonishment,
His hair standing on end, bowed to the God
With the head, and joining hands, thus spake:—

Arjun.

I see

Oh God! within thy body all the gods,
As well as numbers of the various beings ;
Seated upon a lotus-throne, the Lord
Brahmā; the sages; and the snakes divine.
With many a stomach, mouth, and arm, and eye,
I see thee on all sides, of countless forms.
Oh Lord of all, of every form! thy end,
Thy middle, thy beginning, I see not.
I see thee with the diadem, the mace,
The discus too—a mass of splendour bright
On every side, and hard to look upon ;
All round as brilliant as a blazing fire,
Or as the sun, immeasurable. Thou
The Indestructible, the Supreme One
That's to be known; thou the support supreme*
Of the universe; thou the inexhaustible
Protector of everlasting piety.†
The eternal person dost thou seem to me.
I see thee, of beginning, middle, end,
Devoid; of power infinite; with arms
Unnumbered; with sun and moon for thy eyes ;
With mouths like to a blazing fire ; and heating
By thy own splendour all this universe.
The interspace betwixt the earth and sky,
And all the quarters too, dost thou pervade

* निर्वान परमात्म्य इत्यर्थः says Ś'āṅkar. प्रकृतस्यैव says Ś'ridhar. But see St. 38 (line 1500) and Chap. IX. St. 19 (line 1160).

† Compare Chapter IV. 7 (line 323).

Oh mighty one! looking upon this form
 Of thine, miraculous and terrible,
 Frightened are the three worlds. For here these bands
 Of gods do enter thee;* some frightened pray
 With joined hands; companies of sages great
 And Siddhas crying "Hail" praise thee with hymns
 Expressive.† The Âdityas, the Sâdhyas too,
 The Rudras, Vasus, Vis'vas, and the Winds,
 The Ushmaps, Yakshas, and the Gandharvas,
 The Asurs, and the Siddhas, all amazed
 Look at thee. Looking on thy mighty form,
 With many a mouth and eye, Oh large-armed one!
 With many an arm, and stomach, thigh, and foot,
 Fearful with many a jaw, sorely afraid
 Are all the worlds as well as I. At sight
 Of thee, Oh Vishnu! with eyes blazing, large,
 With mouth wide open, and with numerous hues,
 Brilliant, the Heavens touching, I retain
 No courage, no tranquillity, afraid
 Much in my inmost soul. Looking upon
 Thy faces, dreadful with the jaws, and like
 The last Fire of Destruction, pleasure none
 I feel, the quarters cannot recognise.
 Oh Lord of gods pervading the universe
 Have mercy! All these Dhritarâshtra's sons,
 Together also with the crowds of kings,
 Bhîshma, and Drop, this charioteer's son too,
 Hastening together with our champions chief,

* प्रविशन्तो दृश्यन्ते says S'ankar. स्वरं प्रविशन्ति says S'rîdhar, unnecessarily, I think.

† पुष्कलाभिःसंपूर्णभिः says S'ankar. पुष्कलाभिःपरिपूर्णैर्भिः says Madhusûdan.

Into thy mouth, horrific* by thy jaws,
 And fearful, enter. Some appear with heads
 All smashed within the spaces 'twixt the teeth
 Stuck down. As flow towards the sea alone,
 The volumes of the rivers' waters fierce,
 So do these heroes of the human world
 Enter thy blazing mouths.† As butterflies
 With force increased‡ enter a blazing fire
 To be destroyed, even so to be destroyed
 These men with force increased enter thy mouths.
 Devouring all the people from all sides,
 Thou liokst them over and over with thy mouths
 Blazing. Oh Vishṇu ! thy fierce splendours heat
 The universe, filling it with their rays.
 Tell me who thou art with this awful form.
 My salutations be to thee, Oh first
 Of gods ! have mercy ! I desire to know
 Thee the Primeval one, for Oh thy deeds
 I understand not.

Krishna. I am Death, I am he
 Who causes the destruction of the worlds,
 Developed.§ and am now engaged about
 The overthrow of the worlds. Without thee even,
 The warriors in the adverse hosts arrayed
 Will cease to be. Therefore be up, obtain
 Glory, and conquering thy enemies,

* विकृतानि says Śrīdhara. Horrific by reason of the ruggedness and distortion.

† Compare Chap XI. 21 (line 1438).

‡ समुक्तं वक्तुः says Śaṅkara. बुद्धिपूर्वकं समुक्तः says Śrīdhara.

§ प्रकृती बुद्धिमानः say Śaṅkara and Madhusūdana. मयुक्तः भक्त्युत्कटः says Śrīdhara.

Enjoy a prosperous kingdom: I have myself
 Already killed them, Savyasāchin! * be
 Merely the instrument. Drop. Bhishma, and Karṇa,
 Jayadrath, and all other warriors too,
 Heroic, do thou kill—all killed by me.
 Be not distressed; do fight; and in the field
 Thou shalt defeat thy foes.

Sanjaya. Hearing these words
 Of Kṛṣṇa, with joined hands, the crowned one
 Trembling, with salutations, once more spoke
 To Kṛṣṇa, overwhelmed with fright, his throat choked up,
 Bowing.

Arjun. Oh Lord of minds, by thy renown
 Attracted and delighted is the world—
 Fitly. In all directions frightened fly
 The demons, and the hosts of Siddhas too
 Salute thee all. Why should they not salute
 Thee, Higher than Brahmā, First Cause of him too?
 Oh Infinite High-minded one! Oh Lord
 Of gods, who dost pervade the Universe!
 Thou the Indestructible one, that which is,
 That which is not, and that which is beyond. †
 Thou art the primal lord, the ancient Being.

* Arjun, so called as he could shoot arrows with his left hand,
 सव्येन वामेन हस्तेन सञ्चितुं शरान्तेषां तु शीर्षं यस्य—S'ridhar.

† S'ridhar says सञ्चितुमशक्यं च तावत् परम्. Mādhusūdan सङ्घिमुक्तेन
 प्रतीयमानमस्तीति । असङ्घिषेधमुक्तेन प्रतीयमानं नास्तीति ॥ यथा सञ्चितमस-
 शक्यं तमेव तस्य त्वरं तावत्, सञ्चित्वा परं मूलकारणं कथं तद्वत् तदपि तमे-
 व सङ्घिं किमपि नास्तीत्यर्थः ॥ S'ankar's comments are not quite clear.
 Comp. Chap XIII. ■ (line 1185).

Thou art the last receptacle of this world,*
 Thou art the subject, thou the object,† thou
 The final goal, Oh polymorphous one!
 'Tis thou pervadest all. Thou art the Wind,
 Thou Yam, Fire, Sea, Moon, and the sire of men,
 And thou the great grandsire. A thousand times
 Obeisance be to thee, and yet again
 Obeisance to thee! In front, from behind,
 Obeisance be to thee, from every side!
 Thou all! Thou art of power infinite,
 Of glory unmeasured! All dost thou pervade,
 Therefore art all! Whatever was said by me
 Contemptuously, taking thee to be
 My friend—"Oh Kṛishṇa," "Oh Yādav," or "Oh friend."—
 Not knowing this thy greatness, or from want
 Of caution,‡ or through friendship; and whatever
 Dishonour I did thee in mirth, what time
 We sported, sat together, ate our food,
 Or took repose, sometimes in company§
 Sometimes alone, Oh Undegraded one!
 For that I do apologize to thee,
 The unbounded one. Of all this universe,
 Moving and fixed, thou art the father, thou
 Its great and venerable Lord. To thee

* Compare St. ■ (lin 1424). S'ankar says निधीयते हि मन्त्रगुप्तस्य मक्षमलयादी. S'ridhar has लक्ष्मणान्.

† I use subject and object in something like the philosophical sense, as meaning the knower and the known.

‡ विक्षेपचित्तनयः says S'ankar.

§ S'ankar says तत्समर्थं तत्कथम्: किंवाविहीनमार्थः. S'ridhar says (after explaining एकः by लक्ष्मणेनानां) तत्समर्थं तेषां परिहृता लक्ष्मणा समक्षम्; with this Madhusūdan agrees.

No equal is, matchless in power throughout
 All the three worlds. Whence can there be a greater ?
 Therefore I bow ■ thee, prostrate myself,
 And would propitiate thee, Praiseworthy one !
 Oh be thou pleased, Oh Lord ! to pardon me,
 Even as a father does his son, a friend
 His friend, or as a husband his beloved.
 Seeing this form, unseen before, I feel
 Delight, but also fear overpowers my heart.
 Be pleased, Oh world-pervading Lord of gods !
 Lord ! show me that same form. I wish to see
 Thee with the mace and diadem, wheel in hand.
 That same fourhanded form, Oh all-formed one !
 Oh thousand-handed God ! once more assume.
Krishna. Oh Arjun ! pleased, I have now shown to thee
 Through my power mystic* this my shape supreme—
 Glorious, and universal, infinite,
 Primal, and seen before by none but thee.
 Not by the study of the Veda, nor yet
 Of sacrifices,† not by alms, not acts,
 Nor yet by rigid penances, can I
 Be seen, Oh bravest of the Kurus ! here
 Upon this world of mortals, in this form,
 By any one but thee. Be not distressed,
 Be not perplexed, seeing this form of mine,

* दीग again. Compare Chap. VII. St. 25 (line 980).

† S'ankar says वेदा (Oalo. Ed. यज्ञा) ध्ययनैरेव यज्ञाध्ययनस्य सिद्धत्वान्मध्य-
 यज्ञाध्ययनमहत्त्वं यज्ञविज्ञानैरेव ज्ञाप्यार्थम्. So too S'ridhar वेदाध्ययनव्यतिरेकेण
 यज्ञाध्ययनस्याभावाद्यज्ञाद्यग्नेन यज्ञविद्या कल्पसूत्राणां लभ्यन्ते वेदानां यज्ञविद्यानां
 वाध्ययनैरित्यर्थः. A suspicion, however, occurs to one's mind. Is not
 यज्ञवेदाध्ययनैः meant? And see St. 53 (line 1570).

So dreadful. Free from fear and with pleased heart,
See once more now that same old form of mine.

Sanjaya. Having said thus to Arjun, then, the son
Of Vasudev showed once more his own form.
And the Great One once more in gentle shape
Comforted him so frightened.

Arjun. Seeing now
This shape of thine, Janārdan! human, mild,
I have come to my right mind, and have returned
To my state normal.

Krishna. Difficult to see*
Is this form of mine which thou hast now seen,
Even the gods do constantly desire
To see it. Not by penance, not by alms,
Not by the Veda, not by the sacrifice,
Can I be seen as thou hast seen me now.
But 'tis by worship fixed on me alone,
Oh Arjun! that I can be truly known,
Seen and amalgamated with,† Oh slayer,
Of foes! in this shape. He, Oh Paṇḍu's son!
Who acts performs for me, to whom I am
The highest object, who's my devotee,
Free from attachments, and from hatred free
Towards all beings, he to me does come.

Chapter XII.

Arjun. Of all the worshippers who meditate
On thee, devoted always thus, and those

* I. e. difficult to get a sight of.

† अङ्गं भोक्तुं सङ्गुणं S'ankar. भोक्तुं सङ्गुणमेव S'ridhar.

Who on the Indestructible, Unseen,
 Do meditate, which know devotion best ?
Krishna. By me are those the most devoted deemed,
 Who with the highest faith imbued, their minds
 Steadying on me, worship me, constantly
 Devoted. Those, upon the other hand,
 Who bridling all the senses, equable
 Throughout, intent upon the good of all,
 Worship the Indestructible, Unseen,
 Ineffable, which doth all permeate,
 Unthinkable, indifferent,* and fixed,
 And changeless, come to me. For those whose minds
 Are ■ the Unseen attached, greater's the toil,
 Because the goal unseen† is hard to reach
 For the embodied ones. But ■ those men
 Who worship me, upon me meditating
 With a devotion towards me alone,
 Who offering up to me their every act,‡
 Give themselves up to me, Oh Prithā's son !
 And who still fix their minds upon me, I
 Without delay stand the deliverer
 Out of the ocean of the mortal world.
 On me alone place thou thy mind, on me
 Thy resolution fix, in me alone

* The original is कूर्दश्च on which Ś'ridhar says कूटे माया-
 वशे अभिमानलेनवस्थितम्, which follows Ś'aukar's interpretation.
 The other meaning which is expressed by the word 'indifferent' viz.
 निष्क्रिय, or passively looking on, is also stated by Ś'aukar.

† अमर्यादिका says Ś'aukar i. a. The Indestructible. अत्यन्तविषयम् -
 निर्दिष्टा says Ś'ridhar i. a. firm adherence to the Unseen. Madhusū-
 dan agrees with Ś'aukar and renders कूटे by मन्त्रवर्ष फलसूत्रं वक्षः.

‡ Compare Chapter III. St. 30 (line 461).

Wilt thou reside hereafter,* there's no doubt.
 But if thou canst not firmly fix thy mind
 Upon me, then, Oh Conqueror of wealth !
 By the devotion of repeated thought,†
 Endeavour to attain to me. If, too,
 Thou art unequal to repeated thought,
 Then be intent exclusively on acts
 For me,‡ because thou wilt perfection reach
 Even acts for me performing. If again
 Thou art unequal to this too, forsake
 All fruit of action, being self-restrained,
 To me alone devoted.‡ Knowledge is
 Superior to repeated thought; above
 Knowledge is meditation valued; more
 Than meditation is the abandonment
 Of fruit of acts; from that abandonment
 Results tranquillity. That devotee
 Of mine is dear to me, who's friendly, kind,
 Who hates no creature, to whom "mine" is not,
 Who is from egoism free, and equable
 In pain and pleasure, patient, self-restrained,
 Always devoted, and contented, firm
 In his determinations, with his mind
 And faculty of fixed resolve on me
 Concentrated. He through whom never the world

* महात्मना वासं करिष्यसि S'ridhar and Madhusūdan.

† Compare Chap. VIII. St. 8 (line 1025). S'ankar says चित्तस्थे-
 कश्चिन्नालम्बने सर्वतः समाहृत्य पुनः पुनः स्थापनमभ्यसत्सर्वतो योयः समाधानकथनः.
 S'ridhar and Madhusūdan concur.

‡ मशोगमादियन्ते यदि कियमाणानि कर्माणि संन्यस्य यत्करणं तेषामनुष्ठानं मशोग-
 त्तमाश्रितः—S'ankar. S'ridhar says यथाणि यदेकस्मिन्मन्त्रम्. Madhusūdan,
 as usual, combines both explanations.

Is agitated, whom the world too never
 Does agitate, who's free from joy wrath fear
 And perturbation, he is dear to me.
 That devotee of mine, who is unconcerned,
 Pure, wise, impartial, free from all distress,
 Who doth renounce all acts for fruit,* he's dear
 To me. He who rejoices not nor hates,†
 Grieves not, does not desire, abandoning
 Good and ill,‡ worships me, is dear to me.
 Alike with respect and with disrespect,§
 Alike to friend and foe, alike in heat
 And cold, in pleasure and in pain, quite free
 From all attachments, taking blame and praise
 As equal, talking little, satisfied
 With anything, homeless, of steady mind,
 The man who worships me is dear to me.
 And those, too, of my worshippers who taste
 This holy nectar as thus shown above,
 Imbued with faith, and given up to me
 As the highest object, they are most dear to me.

Chapter XIII. ||

Krishna. This frame is called the Kshetra, Oh Kuntī's son !
 And learned persons call him who knows this
 The Kshetrajna. And, offspring of Bharat ! know

* Compare Chap. IV St. 19 (line 538); 'for fruit' is not in the original but must be supplied.

† Compare Chap. II. St. 55 et seq. (line 310 et seq.).

‡ Comp. Chap. IX. St. 38 (line 1197).

§ I. e. Unmoved whether he is respected or the reverse.

|| The relation of this Chapter with what has gone before is thus stated by S'ankar. In the seventh Chapter, two forms of the Supreme Being have been stated, by means of which he acts as the

I am the Kshetrajña in all Kshetras. I
 Do think the knowledge of Kshetrajña and Kshetra
 To be true knowledge. Hear from me in brief
 What this Kshetra is, what it is like, what change
 It undergoes, from what it comes ; and what
 Is he, what are his powers :—all which is sung
 By sages variously in various hymns,
 With all distinctions, and in passages,
 Teaching the Brahma, settled, argued out.*
 The elements, and egoism, fixed resolve,
 And the unseen, the senses ten, the one,
 The five sense-objects, hatred, and desire,
 Pleasure, pain, body, courage, consciousness,
 Thus is described the Kshetra, accompanied

creator, preserver, and destroyer of the universe. Now in this Chapter, the truth about the Supreme Being is to be expounded, and as a means to that, the two forms of Kshetra and Kshetrajña are explained. Śrīdhara observes, that Kṛishṇa has said already that he delivers his worshippers from this mortal world. Now such a deliverance cannot be effected without real knowledge of the soul. Therefore to communicate that knowledge is the object of this Chapter, in which matter and spirit are distinguished from each other. Madhusūdana, as we have already observed on sundry occasions, combines the two explanations into one.

* 'Sages'=Vasiṣṭha and others, says Śaṅkara. Śrīdhara and Madhusūdana add वेदशास्त्रेभ्यः. 'Variously'=in various ways—Śaṅkara. Śrīdhara says, "as the object of meditation &c., in the form Vairāḍy &c." 'Various hymns,'=hymns from the Veda, concerning ordinary and extraordinary actions, actions with special desires &c.—Śrīdhara. 'Passages &c.,'—सूत्र refers to those that indicate generally, and पद to those that describe specifically, the Brahma—Śaṅkara and Śrīdhara. 'Argued out,' applies, according to Śrīdhara, to passages like कथमसत्तः सत्त्वात्तत्तत् or कोऽप्येवायं सत्तः तत्त्वात् &c.

With changes, briefly.* Absence of vanity
 Of ostentation and of hurtfulness,
 Patience, straight-forwardness, devotedness
 To a preceptor, firmness, purity,
 And self-restraint, towards objects of sense
 Indifference, absence of egoism,
 Perception of the evil of birth and death
 And age and sickness and distress,† release
 From all attachments, disregard of son,
 Wife, home,‡ and constant equability
 Upon the approach of good or evil, of me
 Worship exclusive with a firm resolve,§
 Frequenting lonely places, and distaste
 Of men's society, and constancy
 About the knowledge of the Adhyātma,|| thought

* Compare Chapter VII. St. 4 (line 908 *et seq.*) and the Sāṅkhya Sūtras Chap. I. Sūtra 61. Sāṅkhya Sūtra II. 13. shows the meaning which the word कृत्ति has in the Sāṅkhya system. 'The one' is the mind. S'ridhar says एते वैष्णवस्य दृष्टव्यतात्पर्यमर्थो भक्तिः मनीषर्मा भवः-क्षेत्रज्ञः पानि एव । दशरथं वैतसंस्कृतदीनम्; with this Madhusūdan, and we may add, S'ankar agree.

† This is the first step towards वैराग्य or indifference to worldly enjoyments. S'ankar suggests another interpretation in which दुःख and दीप (evil and distress) would be in apposition—दुःखदीपः—which is probably better than the one adopted in the text. S'ridhar also proposes जन्मादिषु दुःखदीपकैरमुद्वर्जितम्.

‡ Compare Chap. XII St. 19 (line 1645).

§ Comp. Chap. XIV. St. 26 (line 1845) also XII. 6 (line 1626). भवन्त्यर्थयोगे S'ankar renders by अणुवत्समाधिना. Madhusūdan says भाव्यो भगवतो वासुदेवाग्ररीकृतः स एव नो गतिरित्येवं निश्चयेन.

|| I. e. knowledge about the soul and so forth—S'ankar, Compare Chap. XV. 5 (line 1870).

About the benefits of knowledge true*—

This ■ called knowledge, what conflicts with this
Is ignorance. What's to be known I will say,
Which known one reaches immortality.
The Highest Brahma, which has no beginning,
Which can't be said to be or not to be.†
On all sides it has hands and feet, on all
Eyes, heads, and faces, and on all sides ears;
It stands pervading all. Possessed of all
The qualities of all the senses, still
Devoid of all the senses; unattached;
Supporting all; devoid of qualities
Yet their supporter; 'tis without, within
All creatures; moving and immoveable;
Through subtlety unknowable; it stands
Afar and near; not different, in things,
It still stands as though different. And this thing,

* By this thought, says S'ankar, there results the effort to acquire the knowledge.

† S'ankar says that words express meanings by indicating class, a quality, an action, or a relation, but none of these is possible in the case of the Brahma; and therefore neither the word सत् nor the word असत् can be applied to it. Śrīdhara says विधिमुक्तेन प्रमाणाय विषयः सत्त्वदेवोक्तविधि विधिविषयसत्त्वदेवोक्तविधौ नोक्त इति ननु तदुभयविच्छेदमविषयवादिभ्यः; with this Madhusūdan agrees. See Chapter IX. St ■ (line 1164) and XI. ■ (line 1507). The difference between those passages and this is, that in this the application of the term सत् and असत् to the Brahma is denied, while in those the Brahma is identified with both सत् and असत्. Mr. Thomson reconciles the two by saying that the Brahma cannot be called either, because it is both. The expression सत्तासत्ताभ्यामनिर्वचनीय which in effect means the same thing as the expression under discussion, is frequently used to designate the 'Māyā.' See on the whole passage Notes and Illustrations.

It should be known, supports all things that are,
 Devours, and does create them. It's the light
 Even of the brilliant bodies, and is said
 To be beyond all darkness. Knowledge 'tis,
 The object too of knowledge, and the goal
 To be attained by knowledge, placed in the heart
 Of every one. Thus have I spoken in brief
 Of *Kshetra*, of knowledge, and of object too.
 My devotee discerning this becomes
 Fit to be one with me.* Nature and spirit,
 Know both to be without beginning, know
 Also that Nature doth produce as well
 The emanations as the qualities.†
 Nature is said ‡ be the power that makes
 The body and the senses work, and spirit
 Is said to be the power through which are felt
 Pleasure and pain.‡ For spirit with Nature joined
 Enjoys the effects that from the qualities

* *I. a. to attain 'Moksha' or final emancipation.*

† The emanations (*विसृताः*), according to Śaṅkar, are *बुद्ध्यादिदे-
 शविद्यन्ताः*, and the qualities (*गुणाः*) *सुखदुःखमोदप्रत्यक्षकारपरिणताः*. In
 this Śrīdhara concurs. The two include, therefore, the body, as well
 subtle as gross, and the various feelings and so forth.

‡ 'The body and the senses.'—I thus render *कार्यकारण*, following the
 commentators. The ordinary sense of that expression will not do, for
 what can be the *कार्य* (working or activity) of a *कारण* (effect)? 'Is
 said to be,' said by Kapil and others; says Śrīdhara. The notion
 that activity is all due to 'Nature' and not to the soul has occurred
 before in the *Gītā*. See *inter alia* Chap. III. St. 27 (line 452). Enjoy-
 ment however is not the function of *deh* neither *ling* of the soul

Of Nature* flow. And the connection 'tis
 With qualities, that brings about its births
 In good or evil wombs. The Being Supreme
 Within this frame is called the supervisor,
 The mentor, the supporter, the great lord,
 The enjoyer, and the soul supreme. Whoever
 Thus knows spirit, Nature, and the qualities,
 Is never again born, in whatever way
 He may have lived.† By meditation some
 Behold the soul in themselves by themselves;
 Others see by the Sāṅkhya-yog; and some
 See by the Karmayog;‡ and others yet
 Who learn not in this way, from others hearing,
 Worship perform, and hearing steadily,§
 They also cross beyond the reach of death,
 Prince of the Bhārata! And whatever thing
 Immoveable or moveable is produced,
 Know thou, 'tis from the union of Kṣhetra
 And Kṣhetrajña. He sees who sees the Lord
 Supreme, alike in all existences,
 And undestroyed himself though they be all

* By the qualities (गुण) are meant here their manifestations ■
 सुखदुःख &c. as in line 1708. Hence we have rendered the simple word
 गुण in the original by 'effects of qualities.' In the next line qualities
 is interpreted by S'ridhar to mean 'senses.' This seems, however,
 unnecessary, though it is the result involved in the proposition.
 The qualities lead to action good and bad, and that leads to birth
 ■ good and bad wombs.

† Comp. Chap. VI. St. 31 (line 844). 'In whatever way'—though he
 may have transgressed rules, says S'ridhar.

‡ See Notes and Illustrations.

§ With faith, from preceptors, says S'ankar.

Destroyed; because seeing the Lord alike
 Present in all things, one does not oneself
 Destroy one's soul,* then to the seat supreme
 Proceeds. He sees who sees all acts performed
 By Nature, and his soul not working. When
 One looks upon all separate entities
 As in one thing existing,† and on all
 As emanating from that one alone,
 Then one the Brahma attains.‡ This soul Supreme
 Oh Kuntī's son! being inexhaustible,
 Without beginning, void of qualities,
 Even in the body works not, is not stained.
 As through its subtlety space is not stained,
 Though all-pervading, even so the soul,
 Though present in all bodies, is not stained.
 As lights up all this world the sun alone,
 So does the Kshetrajna light up this Kshetra,
 Offspring of Bharat! Those who, by the eye
 Of knowledge, see this difference between
 Kshetra and Kshetrajna, and the release of beings
 From Nature,§ they attain to the Supreme.

* Not to have true self-knowledge is here regarded as a sort of self-destruction, and he who sees the Supreme Being in everything escapes this self-destruction, because he has true knowledge of the soul. Comp. S'ankar on *Isāvāsyaopaniṣad* St. 2.

† Śrīdhara says:—"existing in one thing"—at the time of the deluge, existing absorbed in Nature which is one of the powers of God. "Emanating"—at the time of creation.

‡ As S'ankar remarks, this is again a restatement of the same doctrine as that laid down in the preceding lines. When one sees that all ■ Brahma, and that every individual thing we see is but an emanation of that Brahma and nothing else, then, one attains Brahma.

§ S'ankar and the other commentators say on this:—भूतानां प्रकृति-
 रविशालक्षणाद्यक्तादय न स्या भूतप्रकृतेर्मोक्षमभावनमनन्. Comp. Chap. VII.
 St. 14 (line 940).

Chapter XIV.

Krishna. Further I will declare to thee the best—
 The highest—sort of knowledge, which obtained,
 All sages reach perfection, being freed
 From this life.* They being by this knowledge helped,
 Assume my qualities; they are not born
 At the creation, do not suffer pain†
 At the destruction. The great Brahma‡ is
 A womb for me, in which I cast the seed.
 From that, offspring of Bharat! are then born
 All things that are— The bodies which, Oh son
 Of Kuntl! are produced from all the wombs,
 Have for their womb this great Brahma, and I am
 Their father—giver of the seed. Produced
 From Nature, large-armed one! the qualities—
 Goodness, Indifference, and Badness too—
 Within the body do bind down the soul,§
 Embodied, inexhaustible. Of these,
 Goodness being pure, enlightening, free from pain,
 The soul, Oh sinless one! with knowledge binds

* For 'being freed from this life' the original has 'hence' which S'ankar explains by 'after the [end of the] confluence ■ this body.'

† The pain, namely, of repetition of births.

‡ Brahma here means the प्रकृति 'Nature,' which has been spoken of before.

§ I. e., according to S'ridhar "brings the soul into contact with pleasure and pain and illusion and so forth, which are the effects of the qualities."

And happiness.* Indifference, know thou,
 Consists in being charmed,† and that—the cause
 Of craving and attachment—Kunti's son!
 With action the embodied soul binds down.‡
 Badness, know thou, is born of ignorance,
 And the deluder of all creatures; that
 Oh Bharat's child! binds down with laziness,
 And heedlessness, and sleep.§ Goodness unites
 With happiness; with action, Bharat's child!
 Indifference; while Badness doth unite
 With heedlessness, all knowledge wrapping up.
 Indifference and Badness lying low,
 Offspring of Bharat! Goodness then doth stand;
 Indifference and Goodness being thus,
 Badness; and when Goodness and Badness are
 Such, then Indifference. When in this frame
 At all its portals, is the light produced
 Of knowledge, then should one know Goodness there
 Prevailing. When Indifference prevails,
 Prince of the Bhārats! then are avarice

* That is to say, a person in whom this first quality predominates acquires knowledge, and gets all worldly happiness, and calmness,—for that ■ the meaning of भनामय 'free from pain,' according to S'ridhar.

† Here I follow S'ridhar and Madhusūdan. S'ankar says वैरिकादिवद्वा-
 गमिकम्—the appropriateness of which I cannot clearly perceive.

‡ A man in whom this quality predominates is full of desires for all sorts of things which he has not, and is strongly attached to those which he has. And thus he is ever given up to exertions for acquiring new things, or preserving those which he has acquired.

§ प्रमाद (heedlessness) says S'ridhar means अनवधान 'inattention';
 लास्य (laziness) means अनुद्यम (absence of work and activity); and
 निद्रा (sleep) विनिरुद्धवसादी लवः (drooping or cessation of intellect).

Activity, performance of acts too,
Attachment, and want of tranquillity,*
Produced. Whereas when Badness does prevail,
Oh Kuntī's son! absence of light and work,†
Delusion, and heedlessness, are produced.
If Goodness being prevalent, one dies,
One then attains the stainless worlds of those
Who know the Highest.‡ If Indifference,
One ■ then born 'mongst those who are attached
To acts. And one that under Badness dies,
Is born within the wombs of the ignorant.
They say the fruit of actions good is pure,
And of the quality of Goodness; pain
The fruit is of Indifference; the fruit
Of Badness ignorance. From Goodness flows
Knowledge; as also from Indifference
Flows avarice; from Badness, ignorance,
Headlessness, and delusion. Up those go
Who stick to Goodness; in the middle stop
Those of the quality of Indifference;
And those go downwards whose behaviour
Is of the lowest quality. What time
The seer sees no one but the qualities

* 'Activity' (प्रवृत्ति) Śrīdhara explains by निरन्तरं कुर्वन्नुपमा "always doing something or another;" 'performance of acts' (कर्मणां प्रवृत्तिः) he exemplifies by 'rearing up large mansions &c;'; 'attachment' (संलग्नता) is desire to get everything that is seen; want of tranquillity (अशान्तिः) he renders by perpetual agitation of mind—"this I will do now, and then that, and then the other."

† Absence of work (भ्रमप्रवृत्ति) doing nothing ■ all. अकर्मप्रवृत्तिः—Śrīdhara.

‡ I. e. Hiranyagarbha and so forth, says Śrīdhara. The elements such as महन् &c.—Śaṅkara. Madhusūdana agrees with Śrīdhara.

As agents,* and knows that which is above
 The qualities, into my essence then
 He comes. And when the embodied soul transcends
 All these three qualities from which are born
 All bodies,† then is it from birth and death
 And age and pain relieved, and then attains
 To immortality.

Arjun. What are the marks,
 Oh Lord! of one who these three qualities
 Transcends, what is his conduct, how does he
 Transcend all these three qualities.‡

Krishna. He's said

To have transcended the three qualities,
 Oh Pāṇḍu's son! who hates not when they come
 Light, and delusion, and activity ;§
 And does not wish for them when they are not ;
 Who standing like one unconcerned is never
 Shaken by the qualities,|| who never moves¶

* Again the oft-repeated idea. Seer is simply one who sees.

† As to 'transcending the qualities' compare *inter alia* line 271, देहसमुद्भवात् is by the commentators interpreted as equivalent to देह-सन्निविष्टभूतान्—S'ridhar says that देह is the परिणाम (development) of the qualities.

‡ S'ridhar says that this question and its answer are a repetition in another form of what has been said about a स्थितप्रज्ञ in Chapter II.

§ These are respectively the effects of the three qualities. They are according to S'ridhar only indications, and all the respective effects are to be understood here. Mr. Thomson erroneously takes them to stand for the qualities themselves.

|| I. e. so as to lose all discrimination—Śaṅkar. 'Qualities' stands for the effects of the qualities, pleasure, pain &c. says S'ridhar here as before.

¶ न व्यथयते says Śaṅkar, न व्यथयते says Madhusūdan, न चञ्चति says S'ridhar. It seems to mean "never deviates from the

But ever is steady, thinking the qualities
Exist;° who is calm; to whom pleasure and pain
And gold, stone, sod are all alike; to whom
Equal are things as well disliked as liked;
To whom both praise and censure of himself
Are equal; who towards the side of friends
Or foes, in honour or dishonour too,
Is still alike; and who all acts forsakes;
And he who with devotion worships me—
Devotion all-exclusive†—he transcends
These qualities, and fits himself to be
One with the Brahma. I the image am‡
Of the Brahma, and of immortality
All inexhaustible, of piety
Eterne, and of unbroken happiness

Chapter XV.

Krishna. They say the *As'vattha* inexhaustible§
Grows with its roots above, its boughs below;
The *Chhandas* are its leaves; whoever it knows
Doth know the *Veda*. Upwards and downwards too,

* Comp. III. 28. (line 436) with which S'ankar likens this completely by supplying अन्वयदिमन्. Mr. Thomson thinks the two differ, but I do not see the distinction he draws.

† Most of the elements making up this passage are noted elsewhere. Compare Chap. II. St. 56 *et seq.* Chap. V. St. 20, VI. 7, 8, 9, VII. 14, XII. 13 *et seq.*

‡ प्रतिष्ठा (image) is thus explained by S'ridhar प्रतिष्ठा प्रतिमा इती. भूतं ब्रह्मैवाहं यथा इतीमुनप्रकाश एव सूर्यमण्डले लक्ष्मिर्ब्रह्मे. Madhusūdan says कटिगतकपरादिनमकल्पितं रूपम्; and afterwards प्रतिष्ठा परकीर्तिः.

§ Compare for this and following verses Kathopanishad V. 15.

Extend its branches, by the qualities
 Enlarged, their sprouts being objects of sense.
 Downwards extend the roots that in this world
 Of mortals lead to action. Here not thus,
 In its form known; nor is its end, its source,
 Nor its supports. But with the weapon strong
 Of unconcern, hewing the *As'vattha* down,
 With its roots firmly fixed, then should that seat
 Be sought for, from which those who do repair
 To it return not—thinking that one rests
 On that same Primal Being from whom the course
 Eternal emanates.* Those who are free
 From pride, delusion, who have overcome
 The evils of attachment, and dispelled
 Desires, who to the *Adhyātma* are given up,
 Who are free from the pairs of opposites,
 Called pain and pleasure—undeluded these
 Go to that seat Imperishable. That seat
 The Sun lights not, nor Fire, nor yet the Moon.†
 That ■ my seat Supreme, going to which
 One comes not back. A part eternal of me
 It is, that in this mortal world becomes
 An individual soul, and to itself
 Draws out the senses with the mind as sixth

* The construction in the original here is not quite clear, but I follow the commentators, according to whom, the clause beginning with the words 'thinking that' explains the manner of the 'search'—*चिन्तयन्प्रकार*, as Śrīdhara puts it. Mr. Thomson's rendering involves, ■ think, a rather unusual meaning for *चिन्तयन्*, and ■ after all not perfectly clear or unexceptionable. 'The course' (*प्रवृत्ति*) is the course of this worldly life—*संसारप्रवृत्ति*.

† Compare *Kāthopanishad* VI. 1.

From Nature.* Whensoever the Soul Divine
 Obtains or quits a body, these he takes
 Always with him, as from their seats the wind
 Takes off perfumes. And then presiding over
 The ear, the eye, the sense of touch and taste
 And smell, and also over the mind, the Soul
 Objects of sense enjoys.† The ignorant
 See not the soul quitting this frame or staying,
 Enjoying, or joined with the qualities.
 They see who have eyes of knowledge.‡ Devotees
 With efforts see it placed within themselves.§
 But those who have not purity attained
 And who have no discernment see it not

* 'Senses with the mind as sixth'—means the five senses and the mind. 'from Nature'—S'ridhar says that the senses are absorbed in the Prakṛiti or Nature during sound sleep, as also at the time of the dissolution of the world; and from Nature the unemancipated soul has to resume them.

† The perception and enjoyment of worldly objects by the soul is of course indirect only—through the intervention of the senses and the mind.

‡ 'Staying' means staying in the body; 'enjoying', according to S'ankar, means perceiving sound &c. while 'joined with the qualities' means brought into contact with pleasure, pain, delusion &c. S'ridhar renders 'enjoying' by enjoying worldly objects, and the last phrase he explains by joined with the senses इन्द्रियसुक्त. Madhusūdan agrees with S'ankar. S'ankar observes एवंमूनमथैनमन्तं दर्शनगोचरं प्राप्तं विमूढा दृष्टानुश्लेषवशमिवअकृष्टचैनस्तथानैकया मूढा जनुयइत्यन्ति.

§ 'Within themselves' means within their bodies (S'ridhar) in their intellects (S'ankar). Madhusūdan agrees with S'ankar, and explains 'placed' by reflected.

Even after efforts. Know* that glory mine,
 Which in the Sun lights up the Universe,
 And in the Moon and Fire.† Into the earth
 Entering, I by my power support all things.
 And I become the watery Moon, and give
 Their nutriment to all herbs. I become
 Fire, and entering into all creatures' frames,
 Joined with the upward and the downward winds,
 I cause digestion of the four-fold food.‡
 Within the heart,§ of every one I am placed,
 From me all reasoning, knowledge, memory.
 In all the Veds I am only to be known.
 I am the author of the Vedānta. I
 Am also he who knows the Veds. There are
 In this world these two Beings—that which is
 Destructible, and the Indestructible.
 Of all things the Destructible consists;
 The Unconcerned one is that which is called
 The Indestructible. The Being Supreme
 Is yet another called the Highest Soul,
 Who, as the Great Lord inexhaustible,
 Pervading the three worlds, supports them. I
 Transcending the Destructible, and being
 Even higher than the Indestructible,
 Am in the Veds and in the Universe

* Comp. Kathopanishad V. 15. He here returns to what he had left off at line 1877. The intervening portion shows, according to Śrīdhar, how it comes that some souls do 'come back,' after having gone to the 'supreme seat' in deep sleep—as taught by a Vedic text.

† See Notes and Illustrations.

‡ Compare Chap. XVIII. St. 61. (line 2322).

Known as the Best of Beings.* He who knows
 Me, undeluded, thus, the Best of Beings,
 Offspring of Bharat! he does, knowing all,
 Worship me every way.† Thus, sinless one!
 Have I this most mysterious science declared.
 One knowing this becomes, Oh Bharat's child!
 Possessed of knowledge, and to his duty true.

Chapter XVI.

Krishna. Freedom from fear, and purity of heart,
 Persistence in pursuit of knowledge too,
 Almsgiving, self-restraint, and sacrifice,
 Study, and penance, and straightforwardness,
 Harmlessness, and renunciation, truth,
 Freedom from anger, and tranquillity,
 Not playing the informer, to all beings
 Compassion, freedom too from avarice,‡
 Mildness, absence of vain activity,
 And patience, modesty, highmindedness,§
 Courage, cleanness, absence of vanity

* See Notes and Illustrations.

† The original is सर्वमविन which is rendered by Śrīdhara as in the text—सर्वप्रकारेण. Śrīdhara then adds ततश्च सर्वज्ञो भवति. I. e. 'Then he becomes all-knowing.' Śaṅkara does not construe the word 'all-knowing' in this way, but as ■■ taken in our translation. On सर्वमविन he says सर्वमविन्त्य 'thinking me to be the soul of all.' But—see Chap. XVIII. St. 62. (line 2324).

‡ So Śrīdhara. Śaṅkara renders it by 'the senses not being affected even after contact with their objects.'

§ The original ■ देवः 'glory.' Śaṅkara renders ■ by प्रशस्त्य, so does Śrīdhara. Śaṅkara says expressly देवः प्रशस्त्यं न त्वमस्य शीघ्रः—not the bodily glory.

And of malignancy,* all these belong
 Offspring of Bharat ! to him who is born
 To heavenly endowments. † Pride, conceit,
 And ostentation, anger, harshness ‡ too,
 And ignorance are his, Oh Prithā's son !
 Who is to demoniac endowments born.
 Endowments heavenly are thought to be
 Means for salvation ; for captivity, ‡
 Demoniac. Grieve not, Oh Pāṇḍu's son !
 To heavenly endowments art thou born.
 Two sorts of creatures have been in this world
 Created, heavenly and demoniac.
 The heavenly have been spoken of at length,
 Hear the demoniac from me, Prithā's son !
 Creatures demoniac action know not
 Nor yet inaction; § and veracity,
 Behaviour as ordained, and purity,
 Are not in them. "The universe", say they,
 ¶ Contains no truth ; it is without a Lord,

* 'Absence of malignancy' (अशील) means according ■ the commentators वरुणितकरदिभ्यः or अहिंसन, freedom from a desire to injure others.

† Pride (दृष्टिः) i. e. of wealth and learning ; and conceit (भूमिमानः) ■ the same thing as vanity, believing oneself to deserve great respect and so forth—according to the commentators. Ostentation (दम्भः) धर्मभक्तिम् say Śaṅkar and Ś'ridhar. Madhusūdan adds धार्मिकनयात्मनः स्वयंप्रदर्शनम् (making a show of piety) ; harshness—निष्ठुरत्वं says Ś'ridhar, पदपतनम् says Śaṅkar.

‡ I. e. freedom from this world.—संसार—and being tied down to it, respectively.

§ I. e. That which should be done, for the attainment of real good, and that which should not be done, as productive of real mischief.

And is of all fixed principle devoid,
 Without connections mutual, and indeed
 Designed for pleasure."* Holding to this view,
 These men of little knowledge, ruined souls,
 Of cruel actions, the world's enemies,
 Are born for its destruction. Harboursing
 Insatiable desires, and full of pride,
 Folly, and ostentation, they adopt
 False notions through delusion, and behave
 In modes impure. Indulging boundless thoughts†
 Ending with death; ■ enjoyments of this world
 Given up, resolved that that‡ is all; bound down
 With nets of hopes in hundreds; given up
 To anger and desire; they wish for heaps
 Of wealth, the pleasures of this world to enjoy,
 Unjustly. "This have I received to-day;
 This wish I shall obtain. This wealth is mine;
 This shall be mine. I have destroyed this foe;
 And others too I will destroy. I am God,
 I am enjoyer, I am perfect,§ strong,
 Happy, and wealthy. I am of high birth

* See Notes and Illustrations.

† I. e. Always during life thinking of preserving or acquiring something (चिन्तयन्मात्मकमश्वमेधोपायाद्योपनयिकाम् says Ānandagiri.

‡ I. e. enjoyment of worldly good, referring to the expression in the line preceding, which literally means 'enjoyment of things which are the objects of wish,' काम्यन्व इति कामाः शब्दादयः says Ś'ankar; and see Ānandagiri's gloss पारिवर्तिकं तु नास्ति सुखमिति निश्चयवन्त इत्याह एतादृति.

§ Ś'ankar says सर्वप्रकारेण च शिष्यैर्ह सखः पुत्रैः शीर्षैर्गृहिभिः—that ■ to say, blessed with children, grand children, and great grand children. Madhusūdan says similarly, possessed of companions such as sons, servants &c. Ś'ridhar's view seems to me to be better. He renders it by कनकन्यः literally 'One who has done all he need do.'

Who else is like me ? I will sacrifice*
 I will make gifts, rejoice." By ignorance
 Deluded thus, tossed round by numerous thoughts,
 Surrounded by delusion's net, attached
 To the enjoyments of this world, they fall
 Down into Hell impure. Full of the pride
 And madness caused by wealth, highly esteemed
 But by themselves, void of humility,†
 They sacrifices but in name perform,
 Merely for show, against the rules prescribed.
 These enemies,‡ cruel, meanest of men,
 Indulging vanity, censoriousness,
 Desire, pride, wrath, brute force,§ and hating me
 In their own bodies and of others too,||
 Unholy, to this world¶ I do hurl down

* S'ankar and Madhusūdan take this to mean कर्मिणः इत्यादिभिरपि प्राणिभिः । S'ridhar renders it by शैक्षिनान्दैरपि: सकाशात्प्रहर्षी प्रदेहा प्रपश्यति.

† स्वभाः is rendered by भगवत्स्वभावः; by S'ankar, मनसाः; by S'ridhar and Madhusūdan.

‡ I. e. of God, say the commentators.

§ वृक्ष ■ said by S'ankar to be परमिभगवतिष्व and by Madhusūdan परमिभगवतिष्वत्तत्त्वात्परमार्थविज्ञेय.

|| This and the two preceding lines explain, according to S'ridhar, how the sacrifices are "against prescribed rules." He says.... भावदेहे परदेहेषु च विद्वेक्षेन स्थिते मां प्राहिषन्तो यजन्ते दम्भयोगेन अज्ञातं भगवत्प्राप्त्यनो युधेद पीडा भवति तत्र पश्यामीमांसेप्रविदिना हिंस्रैश्च चैतन्महोद परवत्प्राप्त्यन इति प्राहिषन्त इत्युक्तम् । अस्तस्यैवकाः कन्मायैवविना गुणेषु दीवारोपकाः. Hence it appears that the words, "hating me in their own bodies and of others too" refer to the trouble to oneself involved in performing sacrifices without faith, and to the animals that are killed for these useless sacrifices.

¶ The original संसारेषु, S'ankar and Madhusūdan explain by मरु-संसरणमार्गेषु and S'ridhar by जन्ममृत्युमार्गेषु.

Perpetually into demoniac wombs.
 Coming into demoniac wombs, each birth
 Deluded still, never coming to me;
 Oh Kuntī's son! they go down into Hell.
 Three are the ways to Hell, which to the soul
 Are ruinous—desire, wrath, avarice.
 Therefore should one this triad still renounce.
 Released from these three ways to darkness, man,
 Oh Kuntī's son! behaves so as to achieve
 His own good, then reaches the highest goal.
 He* who abandoning the ordinances
 Of scripture, acts as he himself desires,
 Does not attain perfection,† happiness,
 Nor yet the seat supreme. Therefore for thee,
 Between what should be done and what should not
 To make distinctions, the authority
 Is scripture. Hence, knowing what is laid down
 In scripture ordinance, all acts here perform.

Chapter XVII.

Arjun. What is the state‡ of those who, full of faith,

* S'ridhar observes that this is said with the view of showing that release from the 'triad' is not to be accomplished except by the performance of prescribed duties.

† सिद्धि, the original, has occurred before also several times. S'ankar here explains it ■ mean 'fitness for the attainment of the *summum bonum*' दुष्प्रायेक्ष्यता. S'ridhar renders it by वत्सहान 'right knowledge.'

‡ The original is निष्ठा which also occurs ■ Chap. III. St. 3 (line 376), where we have rendered it by 'path'. Here S'ridhar renders it by स्थिति or भाव्य, S'ankar by अवस्थान. It is not difficult to see, however that the apparent difference is only owing to the context, and that in substance the different renderings express the same idea.

Worship perform, Oh Krishna! abandoning
All scripture rules—Goodness, Indifference,
Or Badness? •

Krishna. Faith ■ of three kinds in men,
‘Tis the result of dispositions.* Hear
About it; ‘tis Good, Bad, Indifferent—
The faith of all, offspring of Bharat! ■
Conformable to their hearts. Mortals here
Are full of faith, and whatsoever one’s faith
Is, that is one oneself.† The Good the gods
Worship. The Indifferent the Rakshases,
And Yakshas. And the Bad worship the hosts
Of demons and the manes. Know that those
Who practise dreadful penance, unordained
By Holy Writ, with ostentatiousness,
And pride, full of attachment, and desire,

* *वैभवा* is explained *अन्त्याम्बरकुटी धनोविस्कारी यरणकालेभियन्तः* *वैभवा* *हृदये*—S’ankar; so too the other commentators. And compare the note at Chap. VII. 20 (line 967) *supra* and ■ line 469.

† “According ■ their hearts,” S’ankar’s gloss on the original is this *विशिष्टसंस्कारीपैतान्तःकरणानुसृत्य*. S’ridhar सत्त्वकारतन्मात्रानुसारिणी. Ma-
dhhusūdan agrees with S’ankar, for he says *मायसीयन्तःकरणगणनासमाहृ-
तिमिश्रकारणतैविशेषेन अकारैविशेषमुक्त्वा तदुपादानकारणान्तःकरणतैविशेषेणापि
तद्वैविध्यमाह*.—He then goes on सत्त्वं त्रकाशकालात्सत्त्वप्रधानत्रिगुणा (etc.
नम् ?) पञ्चीकुपद्वयमहाभूतारब्धयन्तःकरणम्.—“Full of faith.” S’ridhar
says *विशिषया अज्ञका निश्चित इत्यर्थः*. S’ankar says *अज्ञायाः*; and Ma-
dhhusūdan *मायुर्वैयमिश्रकृता इत्युक्तं .. अज्ञमयो यद् इतिवत्*. It seems to
mean, that the “faith” of each person is the dominant principle to
him, and according as that is Good, Bad, or Indifferent, the man him-
self is Good, Bad, or Indifferent. This last is the meaning of the
words immediately following.

And stubbornness, and folly, torturing
 The various portions of their frames, and me
 Within those frames,* are men whose conduct is
 Demoniac. The food that ■ liked by them
 Is also three-fold. So the sacrifice,
 The alms-giving, and the penance. Listen, now,
 To their distinctions, thus:—Those kinds of food
 Which do increase life, energy, and strength,
 Health, happiness, and relish,†—savoury,
 And oleaginous, of substance full,‡
 And pleasant, are by Good men liked. Those kinds
 Which are too hot, and bitter, acid, salt,
 Sharp, rough, and burning, which occasion pain,
 Grief, and disease, are by the Indifferent
 Desired. The food cold, tasteless,§ stinking, stale,
 Impure, and even the leavings, by the Bad
 Are liked. Good is the sacrifice performed
 According to the ordinances, by those
 Who wish not for the fruit, but have resolved
 Within their minds that it must be performed.
 But know that sacrifice Indifferent,
 Prince of the Bhārata † which is all performed

* Compare Chap. XVI. St. 18 (line 1989).

† मीनि, the original, ■ rendered by भूमिदधि by S'ridhar and Madhusūdan. Anandagiri says परिणामेन संवत्सरात् वज्रोनामरमो हर्षः.

‡ श्वराः, the original, S'ridhar renders by देहे सारस्त्रेन विरक्ताश्वावसाधि-
 नः. In this S'ankar and Madhusūdan concur.

§ S'ankar says अतस्त्वं मन्त्रपक्वं निर्वाच्यस्व क्वरसेनोक्तान् Madhusūdan
 quotes this, and adds विरक्तां मां शुद्धम्. S'ridhar says दानयान्
 शीतस्वरां मां क्लृप्तपर्वः मन्त्रसं निर्वाचितस्वम्. दयुषेण, which we
 have rendered by stale, all the commentators explain to mean, cooked
 and allowed to remain in that state for one night.

For show, or with an eye towards the fruit.
 That sacrifice do they call Bad, in which
 There are no Mantras, and no food, nor wealth
 Dealt out,* devoid of faith, not in accord
 With the ordinances. The paying reverence
 To Gods, and Brāhmanas, teachers, and the wise,†
 And purity, straightforwardness,‡ and life
 As celibates, and harmlessness—all this
 Is called the penance bodily. That speech
 Which sorrow causes not, and which is true,
 Pleasant, and beneficial, and likewise
 The study of the Vedas—all this is called
 The penance wordly. Next, calmness of mind,
 Mildness, and silence,|| and restraint of self,
 And purity of heart—all this is called
 The penance mental. Practised with full faith
 By men, devoted, not desiring fruit,
 This penance three-fold is called Good. And that
 Which is for honour, reverence, and respect,¶

* That is to say, a sacrifice in which no food or Dakshina is given to Brāhmanas.

† I. e. Others than "teachers" who have right knowledge गुरुत्वविरिक्ता मन्त्रे न सन्निहः—S'ridhar.

‡ I. e. doing what ■ prescribed, not doing what ■ prohibited.

§ This includes the recitation of them, and therefore forms part of the 'penance wordly.'

|| This is included in the 'penance mental,' as 'silence or the 'government of the tongue' is a consequence of mental restraint, and here according ■ S'ankar, the effect is put for the cause.

¶ 'Honour,' people saying "this is a very holy person" and so on; 'reverence' people washing his feet and so forth; 'respect,' people rising ■ receive him and so on—S'ankar.

And with much show performed, that ■ here called
 Indifferent—'tis uncertain, transient too.
 But that's described as Bad, which is performed
 Under a foolish view,* with self-distress,
 Or for another's ruin. The gift of alms,
 That's made because it ought to be, to one
 Who can't repay,† and at a proper place,
 And proper time, and to a proper man,
 Is called Good. That, however, which is made
 For a return, or with an eye to fruit,‡
 And with reluctance, that is said to be
 Indifferent. And 'it ■ described as Bad,
 When given at an improper place or time,
 To an improper man, without respect
 Or with disdain. *Om, tat, and sat* are called§
 The three-fold designation of the *Brahma*.
 By that the *Brāhmanas*, as well as the *Veds*,
 And sacrifices, were created.|| Hence
 All acts of penance, gift, and sacrifice,
 That are ordained, with those who know the *Brahma*,
 Always after repeating *Om* commence.
 The various acts of penance, sacrifice,
 And gift are done by those who do desire
 Salvation, saying *tat*, without an eye
 To fruit. Existence, goodness, to express
Sat is employed. Likewise, Oh *Prithā's* son!

* Under a determination arrived at without proper discrimination.

† So the commentators interpret अग्र्यकारिणे.

‡ Heaven &c. as a reward for the act of liberality.

§ ईशान्येयु. 'In the Vedāntas or Upanishads' says Sāṅkar; त्रिष्टुः—'by the learned'—Śrīdhara.

|| As to the whole of this passage see Notes and Illustrations.

About auspicious* actions the term *sat* is used. Perseverance in giving alms, Penance, and sacrifice, are also called *Sat*, and so too are called all acts for this. † Whatever penance is performed, whatever is offered up or given, whatever ■ done, ‡ Without faith, that is *asat*, Pritlik's son! And is nought either here or after death.

Chapter XVIII.

Arjun. Killer of Kes'i! large-armed one! Oh Lord Of minds! I do desire to know the truth About Renunciation, and about Rejection also, as distinct from that.

Krishna. The sages by Renunciation mean The casting off of acts done with desires; And ■ ■ called Rejection by the wise To disregard the fruit of every act. § "Action should be rejected as an evil," Say some wise men; || and others say, that acts

* प्रशस्ति विवाहसौ S'ankar माङ्गलिके विवाहादिकर्मणि S'ridhar, i. e. marriage &c.

† S'ankar says यत्प्रदानतृतीयमक्षया यस्याभिधानवदे इदमेव तदर्थोपमाश्रया-र्थोपमाश्रयेनन्. S'ridhar says यस्य चेदं मामवश्यं स एव परमात्मा अर्थः कृत्तं यस्य तदर्थं कर्म. तस्मिन्कवे यद्व्यवर्तनं क्रियते. तत्कर्म तदर्थवन्.

‡ Praise, salutation &c. says S'ankar.

§ In the first case, the act itself is not done. In the other ■ is done, but without an eye to the fruit. S'ridhar refers back to Chap. V. St. ■ (line ■ at seq.) and IV. 20 (line 559 at seq.) for सन्वास and त्याग.

|| हिंसादिदीपवत्त्वेन दम्भकम् says S'ridhar. दीपवत् may also mean 'like an evil.'

Of sacrifice, of penance, or of gift,
 Ought not to be rejected. Listen now
 Prince of the Bhārata ! to my judgment firm
 Concerning this Rejection. Of three kinds,
 Oh valiant one ! Rejection is described
 To be. Now* acts of sacrifice, and gift,
 And penance too, rejected should not be,
 Should be performed of course. Gift, sacrifice,
 And penance—all do purify the wise.
 But even these acts should be, Oh Prithā's son !
 (It is my excellent and settled view)
 Performed without attachment, and without
 Desire of fruit. Of necessary acts
 Renunciation is not fit 'Tis said
 That their rejection through delusion's bad.
 When one rejects acts merely because
 They are hard, through fear of bodily distress,
 By a Rejection thus Indifferent,
 He surely will not get Rejection's fruit.
 When necessary actions are performed,
 Because, Oh Arjun ! they must be performed,
 Rejecting all attachments and all fruit,
 Then such Rejection is thought to be Good.
 The man of talent, whose doubts are destroyed,
 Who is full of Goodness, and who doth reject
 All fruit and all attachment,† likes not acts
 Pleasant, to unpleasant‡ ones is not averse.

* Here he states his judgment.

† These words are supplied from the commentary. The original is simply स्वयं 'one who rejects.'

‡ कुशल, Śridhar renders by सुखकर, and as an example ■ give निदाघे मध्मन्हरानादि i. e. bathing at midday in summer.

For any creature, 'tis impossible
 All action to reject.* But he is called
 Rejecter† who rejects the fruit of acts.
 Agreeable, and disagreeable,
 And mixed,—the fruit of acts of three sorts thus
 Falls to the non-rejecter after death,
 Never to the renouncer,‡ large-armed one !
 From me the five conditions§ learn, which are
 Required for the completion of all acts,
 And in the Sāṅkhya system|| are declared—
 The agent, the substratum, various kinds
 Of senses, all the movements various,
 The Deities¶ the fifth. Whatever act,

* Compare Chap. III. St. 3 (line 382).

† The original is त्यागी. I have thought it necessary to take the liberty of coining a word 'rejecter' as a synonym for this.

‡ The original is संन्यासी, but Śrīdhara is, I think, right in saying that the word here means the same thing as त्यागी. He refers to Chap. VI. St. 1 (line 738-39).—Madhusūdana expressly dissents from this. Śaṅkara and he take the word in its ordinary sense, rendering it by व्रतमईसंपरिवापक.

§ कारणाणि Śaṅkara renders by निर्दिष्टानि (the printed copy has निरर्तनानि, I think wrongly). In what follows, says Śrīdhara, it is intended to show how the fruit of acts does not accrue to the renouncer.

|| Śaṅkara and Madhusūdana interpret this to mean the Vedānta-Śāstra. Śrīdhara, too, does the same, but he gives also the alternative meaning—Sāṅkhya Śāstra.

¶ The agent = one who has the egoism to think himself the doer of acts; substratum = the body, the substratum for the manifestation of desire, aversion, pleasure, pain &c.; various senses = the twelve senses—the means for the perception of sound &c.; various movements i.e. of the internal winds, downwards, upwards, &c.; deities = those which preside over the several senses (अग्निवह्नि चक्षुराद्यनुयायकम्) or the power that controls all (सर्वभरकोऽवर्तक इति says Śrīdhara).

Just or its opposite, a man performs,
 With body, speech, or mind, its senses are
 These five. That being so, whoever sees
 The agent in the soul immaculate,
 Is not of right views, being unrefined
 In mind, and he sees not.* He who does feel
 No egoism, whose intellect's not stained,
 Destroying even these worlds, does not destroy,
 Is not tied down.† The prompting to all acts
 Is three-fold—knowledge, and its object too,
 And subject; so in brief all action is
 Three-fold—the agent, and the instrument,
 And the object.‡ In the list of qualities,§
 Knowledge, and act, and agent, are declared
 To be of three sorts, in conformity
 To the division of the qualities.
 These, too, learn as they are. When one perceives
 In all things one thing inexhaustible,
 One undivided in divided ones,||
 That knowledge, know, is Good. But that which sees
 In all things various entities distinct,
 That knowledge, based upon variety,¶

* Compare Chap. XIII. St. 29 (line 1742) and other passages.

† Compare Chap. II. St. 38 (line 249).

‡ Knowledge *as it* that a particular thing is a means to something desired; its object is that which is such a means; and the subject he who has the knowledge. When these co-exist, we have action. The 'instrument' *as it*, of action, is the senses, &c.; 'object' is that which the agent desires.

§ The system of Kapil—the Sākhya Philosophy.

|| Compare Chap. XIII. St. 16 (line 1699) one all-pervading principle under all the apparently distinct entities.

¶ This states ■ brief what is explained ■ the preceding lines.
 And compare मन्वीःसु मनुष्यान्वीति य इह नानेव पश्यति. .

Know thou to be Indifferent. And that
 Which looks on only one created thing
 As everything, given up to it, without
 Reason, devoid of truth, and low, is Bad.*
 The necessary action that's performed
 Without attachment, without love or hate,†
 By one not wishing for its fruit, is called
 Good. But then that which is performed by one,
 Full of desires, or even of egotism,‡
 And which occasions toil, Indifferent
 ■ called. The action through delusion done,
 Without regard to consequences, loss,
 One's power, or harm to others, is called Bad.
 The agent, from attachment egotism
 Free, and possessed of boldness, energy,
 And by success or ill-success unmoved,
 Is called Good. But the agent who desires
 The fruit of acts, who's of affection§ full,
 Cruel, impure, and covetous, who feels
 Delight and grief, is called Indifferent.

* एकस्मिन्कार्येऽपि कश्चिन् प्रणिमादी लक्ष्येऽप्यन्येभ्यो न ज्ञातः परमस्मीति
 यथा नम्रश्चरणकटीनां शरीरान्तर्निहितपरिष्कृति जीव ईश्वरी वा शशपादाव-
 चोदिमात्रम् (?) S'ankar.

† Love for children &c., or hatred for foes &c.

‡ The commentators reject the rendering 'egotism' here as rendered
 pleonastic by the other expressions. They render it by 'pride of
 learning, piety &c.' Five lines further on, the word is again simi-
 larly interpreted by Śrīdhara; Ānandagiri says there (interpreting
 S'ankar's words) कर्तृत्वमिदं परमशीलो न मयत्तत्पदे.

§ Soil. for children &c., according to Śrīdhara, as before, but
 Ānandagiri says कर्मैरिष्ये रायः.

And he ■ Bad who is of judgment void,
 Who has no application, is headstrong,
 Crafty, malicious, lazy, melancholy,
 And slow.* Now the division three-fold learn
 Of intellect and firmness,† Conqueror
 Of wealth! which I shall now exhaustively
 And with distinctions mention. The intellect
 That knows salvation, and the being tied down,
 Security, and insecurity,
 What should be done, and what should not be done,
 And action and inaction,‡ Prithā's son!
 Is Good. But that through which one understands
 Improperly what should be done, what not,
 Impiety, and piety, Oh Pārtha!
 That is Indifferent. That intellect
 Which sees impiety as piety,
 And all things too the wrong way, covered up
 By darkness, that is Bad, Oh Prithā's son!

* भयुक्तीऽसमर्हितः says S'ankar भयभि (१ ?) हितः says S'rīdhār. The original for 'malicious' is नैऋतिकः which S'ankar interprets by परवृत्तिक-वनपरः. Lazy (भलसः) means disinclined to work भयुयमशीलः; slow (दीर्घसूत्री) means one who takes too long a time to do any work.

† Madhusūdan explains the two words thus बुद्धेरव्यसक्त्याविवृत्तिमत्त्वाः धृक्तेषु तद्वर्तैः. The word here rendered by 'intellect' is the same that has been before translated by 'faculty of fixed resolve' and like expressions. Firmness is the strength of that faculty.

‡ Compare Chap. XVI. St. 7. (line 1952). S'rīdhār's interpretation here is the same as on that passage. S'ankar, however, says here प्रवृत्तिः प्रवर्तनं कञ्चदेतुः कर्ममार्गः... निवृत्तिर्मोक्षदेतुः सम्पादकमार्गः. So Madhusūdan, also, who adds as to कार्यकार्ये &c. कार्यं प्रवृत्तिमार्गे कर्म-ण करणमकार्यं निवृत्तिमार्गे कर्मणामकरणम् भवं प्रवृत्तिमार्गे मर्मणामादेतुः कर्ममयं निवृत्तिमार्गे सद्विज्ञानम्.

That firmness is good firmness, by which one
 Controls the movements of the mind and breath
 And senses through devotion,* and which never
 Doth swerve.° But that, Oh Prithā's son! by which
 One hugs desire and piety and wealth,†
 Wishing through strong attachment for the fruit,‡
 Oh Arjun! is Indifferent. And that
 By which the senseless man abandons not
 Folly, sleep, fear, despondency, and grief—
 That firmness, Prithā's son! is Bad. Now hear
 Chief of the Bhārata! the descriptions three
 Of happiness. That in which one is pleased
 After habituation,§ and arrives
 At the end of pain, which is like poison first,
 But in the end like nectar—that is called
 Good, and it flows from knowledge of the soul

* यौग 'Devotion' is here rendered by समाधान by Śaṅkar and Madhusūdan, and चिन्तैकाग्र by Śrīdhara. 'Which never swerves' (अमभिवारि-
 ष्य) Śaṅkar renders by समाधानमनुवत्तव. Madhusūdan by अविनाशमवत्तव
 which he construes with यौगेन and explains further by समाधिवाप्तवत्तव.
 The meaning is that this firmness of mind always adheres to devo-
 tion, and thereby always controls sense, breath, and mind.

† These are three of the so-called युद्धार्थ—omitting the highest
 मोक्ष or 'final emancipation'; 'Hugs' (धारयते)=अग्रधान्येन धारयते (Śrī-
 dhara) मनसि निष्कर्तव्यकथनेन धारयते meaning 'regards as essential.'

‡ 'The fruit'—the fruit of the action performed with an eye to the
 three things mentioned. मलङ्क 'attachment' ■ interpreted by Ma-
 dhūsūdan to mean 'the belief of oneself being the real agent in
 the action.'

§ By repetition of enjoyment—not at once as in the case of the
 negligence of the senses.

Free from obscurity.* That happiness
 Is known to be Indifferent, which comes
 From contact of the object and the sense,
 Which ■ like nectar first, and in the end
 Like poison. That's described as Bad, which, first
 As well as in its consequence, deludes
 The soul, and flows from sleep and laziness
 And heedlessness.† There ■ nought on this earth,
 Nor yet among the gods in Heaven, which
 Is free from these three qualities produced
 From Nature. The offices, killer of foes!
 Of Brāhman, Kshatriya, Vais'ya and S'ūdra are marked
 According to the qualities produced
 From Nature.‡ Penance, patience, purity,
 Sedateness, self-control, and rectitude,
 Knowledge, experience, in a future world
 Beliefs§—these are the duties natural

* S'ankar who gives this meaning in common with the other commentators also suggests the following as to आत्मयुक्ति viz. आत्मनो युक्तिः, which would mean 'one's own mind.' Mr. Thomson adopts this meaning of आत्मयुक्ति and renders प्रसन्न by 'serenity.' The meaning is not inadmissible. But I prefer the other, as in this there is not much propriety in the employment of the word आत्म. Comp. Chap. II. St. 65 (line 840), Chap. XVII. St. ■ (line 2060).

† प्रसाद, a word which has occurred before in this work—S'rīdhara renders it by कर्तव्यावधारणरहितत्व.

‡ Compare Chap. IV. St. 13 (line 536). The word for 'nature' here is सत्मा which is rendered by प्रकृति and compare also Chap. V. St. ■ (line 682).

§ As to knowledge and experience see Chap. II. St. 41 (line 495). The original word answering to the next expression ■ अस्तित्व, literally 'the state of a believer that something exists.'

Of Brâhmanas. Courage, glory, bravery,
 Skill, not ■ flee from battle, giving alms,
 And lordliness,* the duties natural
 Of Kshatriyas. The duties natural
 Of Vais'yas, too, are tending cattle,† trade,
 And agriculture. So too servitude,
 The duty natural of S'ûdras. These
 Engaged in their respective duties, reach
 Perfection. Listen now how one engaged
 In one's own duty does perfection reach.
 By his own proper duty worshipping
 Him from whom all things emanate, and who
 All this pervades, perfection‡ man attains.
 One's duty ill-performed is better far
 Than that of others well-performed.§ No sin
 Accrues to him who does the duty set
 By Nature, Kuntî's son ! None should forsake
 The duty to which he is born though evil ;
 Because by evil all acts are wrapt up,
 As fire by smoke.¶ He who is self-restrained,

Compare Pânini IV. 4, 60. The 'future world' is added from the commentary, and there can be no doubt that it ■ the ordinary and correct meaning of the word.

* ईश्वरभावः is explained to mean a proper exercise of authority.

† गौरवम् is taken to apply to cattle generally ; वायुशब्दः say the commentators.

‡ I. e. eligibility for the path of knowledge ज्ञाननिष्ठा योग्यताकथना-
 सिद्धिः.—S'ankar and Madhusâdan.

§ Compare Chap. III. St. 35 (line 475).

¶ Comp. Chap. XVIII. St. 7 (line 2124). The evil ■ not stated by the commentators but seems to be the quality of 'fettering' the soul so frequently spoken of. S'ridhar infers from this, that as the

Whose thoughts are not attached to any thing
 Free from desires, doth the perfection reach,
 Supreme, of freedom from all action,† through
 Renunciation. Learn from me in brief
 How one who has perfection reached attains
 The Brahma, Oh son of Kuntī ! the highest state
 Of knowledge.‡ With an intellect full pure
 And self-restrained, with firmness casting off
 Sound and all other sensuous objects, freed
 From love and hate, frequenting lonely spots,
 Eating but little, with speech, body, mind,
 Restrained, to meditation constantly
 And to devotion and to unconcern§
 Given up, abandoning all egoism,
 And vanity, desire, wrath, stubbornness,
 And all belongings,|| free from thoughts of "mine,"¶
 And tranquil, man the fitness does obtain
 To be one with the Brahma. And thus become

good elements in 'fire' are used to the exclusion of the smoke, so the good portion of action should be accepted, and its 'evil' portion abandoned in the manner stated in the next stanza.

* *Scil.* wife, child &c. says S'ankar.

† सखी मुकुमत्स्नानकृपा सिद्धिम् say S'ankar, वरमइत्यवयवम् says S'rīdhara referring to Chap. V. St. ■ (lines 678-9) and distinguishing it from Chap. V. St. 8 (line 662).

‡ This, according to the commentators, shows what that attainment ■ the Brahma is which has been spoken of just before.

§ Devotion = concentration on the soul alone. Unconcern see line 856.

|| Comp. Chap. VI. St. 10 (line 771) also line 562 referred to in the note there.

¶ Comp. Chap. II. St. 71 (line 362). Madhusūdan says देहवीरनवाङ्मयि नमकाररहितः.

One with the Brahma, and with a tranquil soul,
 One grieves not, wishes not, towards all beings
 Alike; supreme devotion to me then
 One reaches; through devotion truly knows
 Who I am, and how great; then knowing me
 Truly, into me enters.* Even all acts
 Always performing, on me resting, he,
 The inexhaustible eternal seat,
 Favoured by me, attains. To me all acts
 By the mind offering,† given up to me,
 Practise devotion, with the faculty
 Of steady resolution;‡ and thy mind
 Always upon me fix. Fixing thy mind
 On me, thou by my favour shalt surmount
 All dangers. But if thou through egotism;§
 Listen not, ruined shalt thou be. If thou,
 Through egotism, thinkst "I shall not fight," vain

* 'Become one with the Brahma' at the opening of this passage (ब्रह्मभूतः) of course cannot mean absorbed into the Brahma. S'ridhar renders it by ब्रह्मव्यवस्थितः. It would seem to mean 'one who has comprehended fully his own identity with the Brahma.' As to the 'supreme devotion,' S'ankar refers to Chap. VII. St. ■ (line 932).

† Comp. Chap. V. St. 13 (line 679) and note there.

‡ बुद्धिरीमम् S'ankar renders by समर्पितबुद्धिर्नयम् 'having the faculty of fixed resolve (बुद्धि) concentrated.' S'ridhar says ध्येयसाधनिर्या बुद्ध्या योगः; Madhusūdan says पूर्वोक्तसमन्वितबुद्धिस्तथैव योगम्. I do not think that there is any substantial difference between these interpretations.

§ एहिनीदमिति says S'ankar—that is to say, through pride of your own cleverness. So too S'ridhar and Madhusūdan. The latter on the same word in the next line but one says अस्मिन्कोई कूरं कर्म न करिष्यामीति मिथ्याभिमानम्. According to this 'pride of piety' is the meaning there.

Is that resolve of thine. For nature* will
 Compel thee. What, Oh Kuntī's son! tied down
 By thy own duty born of Nature,† thou
 Dost through delusion not desire to do,
 That same thing 'gainst thy own will shalt thou do.
 Arjun! the Lord is seated in the heart
 Of every creature, causing to turn round,
 Through his delusion, creatures mounted on
 An engine. Seek asylum every way‡
 With him, offspring of Bharat! Thou shalt reach,
 Favoured by him, supreme tranquillity,
 And the eternal seat. Thus I have declared
 To thee this knowledge more mysterious
 Than any mystery. Thinking of this
 Fully, act as thou wishest. Hear once more
 My words, the most mysterious of all—
 Strongly I like thee, therefore do I speak,
 For thy behoof. Upon me fix thy mind,
 Become my worshipper, my devotee,
 To me bow down, to me alone shalt thou
 Attain. I tell thee true, thou art dear to me.
 Forsaking all thy duties, come to me
 As thy sole refuge. From all sins I will

* Nature = स्वभावः (the nature of Kshatriyas) says Śaukar.
 रजोगुणरूपेण परिणता सर्वे says Śrīdhara. Madhusūdan combines the two
 thus, स्वभावः स्वभावो रजोगुणस्वभावः.

† Comp. St. 43 (line 2244 of seq.) *supra*.

‡ Comp. Chap. XV. St. 19 (line 1922). The commentators
 here render the expression by सर्वात्मना. Madhusūdan adds मनसा
 वाचा कर्मणा. And Ānandagiri says the same thing. This may be
 taken as the explanation of सर्वप्रकारेण by which Śrīdhara renders the
 expression at Chap. XV. St. 19.

Release thee. Grieve not. This* thou shalt not speak
 To one who does no penance practise,† never
 To one void of devotion, nor to one
 Who wishes not to hear, nor yet to one
 Who carps ■ me. He who this mystery
 Supreme unto my devotees will speak,
 Fully devoted ■ me,‡ shall attain
 To me undoubtedly. Amongst all men,
 To me there ■ none dearer, nor shall be
 Another dearer on the earth, than he.
 And this our sacred dialogue whoever
 Shall study, he shall have performed for me
 The sacrifice of knowledge,§ I do think.
 Also the man who will even hear with faith,
 And without carping, he too shall be freed,

* इदं शास्त्रम् says S'ankar. It means all that has been taught in the Gita.

† भवत्प्रद = भर्मानुष्ठानहीन says S'rīdhār. 'Devotion,' *scil.* towards God and the Preceptor, say the commentators. Compare the last stanza of the Chhāndogyaopaniṣad यद्यपि देवे परा मन्त्रिर्वैद्य देवे तथा गुरौ ॥ न ह्येवे कथिता श्रुतः प्रकाशान्ते महात्मनः. On 'who wishes not to hear.' त्रिष्वर्था-मङ्गुलिं say the commentators, that is to say, who does not serve some preceptor in order to hear it. Comp. Chap. IV. St. ■ (line 610). S'ankar adds that all the elements mentioned must co-exist to make one eligible for learning this doctrine.

‡ With the belief that in spreading knowledge of it, he is serving and devoting himself to me. S'ankar and Mādhusūdan. S'rīdhār says स यपि भक्तिं करोति तन्ने निःसंशयः सन्मायैव प्रपद्येति, which involves a bad construction as to the first part, but as to भसंशयः a more grammatical one than S'ankar's which ■ adopted in the text.

§ That is the best sacrifice. Comp. Chap. IV. St. 32 (lines 606-7).

And shall attain to the bright worlds of those
Who do good deeds.* Hast thou, Oh Prithā's son !
Listened to this with an attentive mind ?
Is thy delusion caused by ignorance
Destroyed, Oh Conqueror of wealth ?

Arjun. Destroyed

Is my delusion ; by thy favour too
Oh undegraded one ! I recollect
Myself.† And free from all doubt‡ now I stand.
I will do as thou bidst.

Sanjaya. Thus did I hear

This dialogue of the high-minded son
Of Prithā and the son of Vasudev—
Wonderful, causing the hair to stand on end !
By Vyās's favour, this devotion§— this
Mystery supreme—I heard from Kṛishṇa's self,
Lord of Devotion, who propounded it
In person. And Oh king ! once and again
Thinking about this wondrous dialogue
And holy, 'twixt Kes'av and Arjun, I
Often rejoice ! Oh king ! once and again
Thinking about that form most wonderful

* Comp. Chap. VI. St. 41. (line 874) where we have rendered it world of Holy Beings.

† S'ankar says दमोदरस्य भ्रातृपुत्रस्य कृष्णस्य यथा सभासत्सन्धीनां विमर्शः, १५ कृष्णमुखाय कृष्ण इत्यर्थः says S'ridhar.

‡ गतो भवतिपुत्रः संदेहो यस्य. S'ridhar—i. e. doubts as to whether fighting with relatives was right.

§ I. e. favour in giving him a superhuman power of seeing and hearing. 'Devotion'—S'ankar says that the composition is called 'devotion' because it relates to 'devotion,' योग्यवैभवाद्भूयसीति योगः.

Of Hari, great is my astonishment,
 And often I rejoice ! Wherever Kṛishṇa
 Lord of Devotion, where the archer, son
 Of Prithā, there, I think, prosperity,
 And fortune,* victory, justice eternal !

* श्री and भूवि are thus distinguished by Sankar श्री
 विस्तारी भूविः, and thus by S'ridhar श्री राक्षसभूविः—

Madhusūdan agrees with S'ridhar only substituting राक्षसभूवि वि-
 बुद्धि for the vaguer भूविबुद्धि of S'ridhar.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Lines 25-27—**यत्न** and **अयत्न**. There is a great difference of opinion as to the true meanings of these words in St. 10. Two opposite meanings have been proposed. The one is 'limited and unlimited' which we have adopted. The other is 'sufficient and insufficient.' For the sense adopted by us, which is consistent with the traditional strength of the two armies, compare Mgh. I. 27. And see Wilson's *Essays on Sanskrit Literature* Vol. III. 116.

Lines 32-33—Compare Wilson's *Essays on Sanskrit Literature* Vol. III. p. 116; and see p. 117 as to the names of the several conchs ■ lines 37-43.

Line 53—The Ape was Hanumān.

Lines 59-61—More literally these lines should have run thus :—

..... I see those who are here
Assembled, anxious for the fight, and longing
'To do good to the evil-minded son
Of Dhritarashtra.

Line 75—The **Gaṇḍiv** is the bow of Arjun.

Line 165—There ■ great difference of opinion among the commentators as to the real meaning of the words "talkat the words of wisdom." Probably, Ś'rīdhara's is the simplest explanation. You talk, says Kṛishṇa to Arjun, like a wise man; but your conduct in lamenting for your relatives is not so wise.

Line 174—I find that a commentator of the Dvāit

School of Philosophy, namely Raghavendra Yati, interprets *मया* to mean *मानसिकः*.

Line 256 *et seq.*—Of this passage, again, Śrīdhara's explanation is the easiest, and to my mind most acceptable. Kṛishṇa, having closed what he calls the Sāṅkhya doctrine, now states the Yog doctrine; and says, that those who follow and act upon this Yog doctrine, never lose the fruit of anything they begin; nor do they find obstacles in their way, like those who perform all they do out of a desire for particular benefits. Those who act with desires, now wish for one thing, now for another. But those who follow the Yog doctrine desire nothing, they have one settled course of action, one fixed resolution—all they do they offer unto the Supreme Being. As to Samādhi, which we have rendered by contemplation, Madhusūdan says as follows:—समाधीयते भक्ति-
न्तर्कमिति व्युत्पत्त्य समाधिस्तन्त्रःकरणं वा परममन्त्र इति त्रयसिद्धार्थकम्यम् ॥
यदं ब्रह्मैवस्थाने समविस्तमिति च व्याख्यानमिदं बुद्धिर्नैवमन्त्र इति व्याख्यानं तु
कदिरित्युक्ता ॥ The ultimate sense of the passage seems to be the same on all these interpretations. And that sense is, that the class of persons described here are not in that settled state of mind which is necessary for the performance of every act as offered to the Supreme Being. Contemplation ■ of course contemplation of the Brahma to whom every act is ■ be offered up. Our translation of *बन्धकर्मफलमवा* is not quite accurate according to the interpretations of the commentators, though in substance it appears to be not incorrect. Śāṅkar takes the compound to mean 'promising a new birth as the fruit of action'—and this interpretation seems to be preferable to the others suggested. In accordance with this the lines should run thus :

And which doth promise as the fruit of acts

New births—the flowery talk, Oh Prithā's son !

"The effects of the three qualities" are the affairs of this world. Compare *Mālavikāgnimitra* (वैकुण्ठहृदयमम कोकचरितं नाना-
रसं दृश्यते). "Free from them," as stated in the footnote, explained by the commentators to mean free from desire, which is the ultimate meaning of "free from the effects of the three qualities," as the whole of what is called the business of this earth is performed with some desire or another. "Resting in courage" means preserving courage and patience under the sufferings flowing from the pairs of opposites mentioned just before. The last words, it need scarcely be said, mean that one should not be over-anxious to obtain what one has not or preserve what one has. One ought to be indifferent to such things. As to the three qualities see notes on Chapter XIV.

Lines 275-7—This is a rather difficult Stanza, and I cannot make up my mind to accept the construction of it proposed by the commentators. Nor does Mr. Thomson's construction appear to me to be suitable to the context. I would, with some diffidence, suggest the following. Having said that the Veda are concerned with actions done out of a desire for particular benefits, Krishna gives here a simile by which to illustrate that assertion. As you can resort to a large reservoir of water for various objects, such as drinking, bathing &c., so if you look at the Veda, you will find there the means of accomplishing various purposes. You can perform the S'yen-sacrifice, if you want to destroy an enemy. You can perform the Jyotishṭom, if you want to attain to Heaven, and so on. In one word, a man can find in the Veda the means of accomplishing various desires of one class, as he can find in a large reservoir the means of accomplishing various desires of another class. But then, Krishna goes on to say, perform the actions prescribed, but do not entertain the desires.

Line 286.—The argument as to the meaning of बुद्धियोग contained in the note on this line seems to me to derive further support from Stanza 50 (lines 289-291). There बुद्धि and योग must be taken to mean the same thing, as they do on S'ankar's interpretation. Otherwise we have to resort, as S'ridhar resorts, to the introduction of an idea which is not in the original. S'ridhar says वस्तुवाचरमर्थं योगार बुद्धयत्नः.

Lines 297-99—बुद्धि which we have rendered by 'taint' may also mean 'snare.' श्रौतव्य and श्रुत in line 299 are taken by Madhusūdan to mean the fruit of actions about which you have heard or are to hear. This seems to be confirmed by S'ankar's interpretation of 'what thou hast heard' in the next line. Rāghavendra Yati, the dualistic commentator already once mentioned, takes ■ ■ mean all actions whatever—सर्वकर्मणिष्ठमप्येतत्.

Line 308—Pleased in and by oneself. S'ankar says that this means enjoying happiness, independently of any external gains, in one's own self as प्रत्यक्षत्वात्; S'ridhar says as परमानन्दस्वरूप which ■ substantially the same thing. Rāghavendra Yati says आत्मन्येव परमात्मन्येव स्थितः सन् वदेकवचनः समिति यावत् । आत्मना परमात्मना तत्त्वसाधनेत्यर्थः । तुष्टः संतोषवृत्तः॥

Line 386.—The active senses are speech, hands, feet, &c. See Thomson's Gītā p. 22n.

Line 396.—Spiritual is a word which I have adopted here, simply in order to avoid a long periphrasis, not because ■ is an accurate rendering of the original यत्तार्थः. The sacrifice here appears to mean the daily offerings to and worship of the Deities which would fall within the नियत कर्म or 'action prescribed' spoken of in line 392.

Line 409—Compare Manu. III. 118.

Line 415.—As to समस्त it should be . . .

that in कर्मसमुद्भव Mr. Thomson does not understand that word in the same sense as in ब्रह्मसमुद्भव.

Line 429—Compare *Is'opanishad Stanza 2.*

Line 485—In support of the commentator's interpretation of the word 'this' here, we may refer to *Gītā VI. 33-4* and *XI. 45, 46*, where the construction is somewhat similar. There is first a general expression, as to which we do not know exactly the specific thing to which it is to be applied, and then in the next Stanza we are introduced to that specific thing.

Line 488—On further consideration I am not satisfied with the rendering of the word कामरूप in the text. The lines should run thus:—

Knowledge is enveloped by this constant foe—
This foe, Desire—of men of knowledge, who
Oh Kuntī's son ! is like a fire, and who
■ never filled.

कामरूपरक्षि means 'this enemy in the shape of desire.' This is the interpretation countenanced by the commentators, and it appears to me more appropriate than the one adopted in the text from *Meghadūt St. IV.* The last lines with a similar correction might run thus :

And do thou by thyself restrain thyself,
And, Large-armed one ! destroy this enemy—
The enemy, Desire—who is hard to tame.

Line 504—Manu ■ the first man of the Solar dynasty of Indian kings. Ikshvāku was one of his descendants and one of the ancestors of the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇ*.

Lines 531-2—The meaning of these lines, as the commentators say, ■ that God confers favours having regard to what ■ asked of him. To those who ask for worldly fruit, he gives that; to those who want final emancipation he gives

that. The favours conferred are in conformity with the prayers with which men "come to me." For the latter part of the passage, compare *Gītā* VII. 22 and IX. 23 (lines 973; 1180). The meaning ■ that, to whomsoever the prayers may ■ addressed in name, they really go to Vishnu in the end.

Lines 535-6—This is contrasted with the fruit of knowledge. The fruit of action is worldly good, which ■ got much sooner than the fruit of knowledge, namely, final emancipation.

Lines 552-555—The meaning of this is that the actions which ordinary people suppose to be a man's actions are really not his, that is to say, not of the soul. Comp. Chap. IV. lines 661 *et seq.* When there are no external marks of action, when ordinary people think a man to be utterly inactive, then is the real time of the activity of the soul. Compare also Chap. II. 353 for another aspect of much the same fact.

Line 567—असर. I have rendered it by envy, following Madhusādan. It may also mean simply enmity ■ others, as the other commentators render it.

Line 570—Wholly free = free from the bonds of virtuous and other actions (S'ankar); from attachment to worldly things &c. (S'ridhar); from a false notion of oneself being the doer in all one's worldly actions (Madhusādan, and compare lines 457 *et seq.*); from the false notion identifying oneself with the body &c. or from the false notion of one's own independence (Rāghavendra).

Line 573—There are some differences between the several interpretations proposed of this passage, but it is unnecessary to set them out here. The last line means that the act of offering is also Brahma—ब्रह्मे कर्म तस्मिन् &c. (S'ankar).

Line 579—Rāghavendra takes the meaning of this line to be that they offer up all their actions to Vishnu, knowing

every thing ■ rest on him, and abandoning the notion of their own freedom. According to S'ankar, the ultimate meaning is that they are always meditating on the unity of Brahma and Âtmâ, of the Supreme and the individual Soul. S'ridhar's meaning ■ that they 'destroy' their 'yajna', or sacrifice and all other actions, by means of the 'yajna' described in lines 573 ■ seq.

Line 583—'Sound and others' means, शब्द, रस, रूप, रस, गन्ध—the five qualities of things which are perceived by the five senses of hearing, touch, sight, taste, and smell. The expression, of course, stands for all worldly objects.

Line 587—In speaking of penance &c. ■ the 'offering', there is of course a figure involved. Penance and the rest stand in the position of the offering in the 'yajna' or sacrifice which the persons referred to perform, the yajna meaning the act or acts performed as worship of the Supreme Being. Doing penance, studying the Veda &c., are thus among the modes of worshipping the Supreme Being adopted by different persons. Knowledge here is interpreted by S'ankar to mean knowledge of the meaning of the S'âstras S'ridhar takes सम्यग्ज्ञान to be one idea—namely knowledge of the meaning of the Veds acquired by a study of them. See Manu III. 134.

Line 595—The winds are the winds said to exist within the body. Râghavendra says the first word 'winds' means the operations of the senses, the second the senses themselves. He takes the passage to mean that they contract the workings of the senses, and adds, 'the meaning being that the senses are reduced in their strength by limited food.' He proposes an alternative rendering:—माषान्वागिन्द्रियदेवान्मनःप्रभृत्यु-
त्तमदेवानान्ध्यायनीत्यर्थः अस्मिन्पक्षे भगवन्पूजनेन नियन्त्रितः पृथग्यज्ञो ज्ञानस्यः

Line 600—Compare Manu. III. 285.

Line 606—The superiority is owing to the fact, says S'ankar, that the sacrifice of knowledge leads to no fruit—i. e. such fruit as will bind one down to regeneration &c., but only to final emancipation.

Lines 671-2—The word केवल (mere) must be connected, according to S'ankar, with 'body, mind, and resolution' as well as with 'senses' though grammatically connected with 'senses' only. It signifies the absence of identification of oneself with any of these. The actions are done mechanically, but without the belief that they are one's own.

Lines 679-84—The Lord (यमु) means आत्मा or देवी according to S'ankar. But this only in line 679, and the footnote on line 683 should therefore not be there. Rāghavendra adopts this meaning in both places, saying अवश्यं यमुः समर्थो जीवः. S'ridhar takes it to refer to the Deity. Action or agency—The Deity is not himself the author of human actions nor is he the cause impelling men to act. In the next line is stated the fact that the Deity has nothing to do with the acceptance of the good or evil acts of his worshippers. The popular notion that God is pleased with the good acts of his worshippers and condones their evil ones is unfounded. These notions are the result of ignorance—'thence do all beings err.' We may add, that this idea of Deity is, in some respects, similar to that which is beginning to commend itself to some of the foremost scientific intellects of our own day.

Line 692—A Chāṇḍāl is the meanest class in Hindu society. See too Mādhav S'ankar Vijaya VI. 29 et. seq.

Lines 714-5—Mr. Thomson omits अन्नमुखा and अन्न-रासः from his translation. The distinction seems to be that between happiness and amusement. The commentators render अन्नरास by क्रीडा—sport or divagation.

Lines 724-5—Excludes the objects of the senses.

The exclusion is of course ceasing to think of them, expelling them from one's thoughts. For objects of the senses, the word here ■ स्पर्श, objects of touch, but it signifies the objects of the other senses as well.

Line 747—To him who has reached devotion, tranquillity is a means, says our text. But for what? ज्ञानारिषाकै say S'ridhar and Madhusddan; मुक्तिगन्मुख्यनिश्चयस्य says Rāghavendra. These substantially agree, as meaning—for the acquisition of the next state, that of perfected knowledge or final emancipation. S'ankar, however, says योगावृत्तस्य शिवनमुच्यत इत्यर्थः, which I do not quite understand.

Line 754—आत्मन् in this line is rendered by S'ridhar to mean the soul which is free from connexion with mind &c. Rāghavendra has the following येन आत्मना येन जीवेनेति समानाधिकरणं वा येन जीवेन कर्त्ता (तौ in Ma.). आत्मना बुद्ध्या कर्षणेनेति व्यधिकरणं वा आत्मना मनःचित्तं वशीकृतं तस्यात्मनो जीवरस आत्म्या मनः चन्दुरेवोरकार्येव भयवद्व्यानोदयोगीति शकत् ॥

Line 760—परममन्त्र सम्प्रदाहितः इति खेनिहितौ भवति ध्यानविषयो भूत्वा परीक्षावरणो भवतीत्यर्थः—Rāghavendra.

Line 772 *et seq.*—Compare S'vetāś'vataropaniṣad II., 10 The Kus'-grass is well known as being regarded as sacred by our people.

Line 818—निर्विघ्नचैतसा (instead of अनिर्विघ्नचैतसा as we have taken it) is intelligible, though I think it should not be construed as Mr. Thomson seems to construe it. The meaning with that word would be—that devotion should be resolutely practiced by one with a mind indifferent (to worldly objects).

Line 843—Exists in me—compare line 1202. S'ankar says it means, that there is no obstacle to his final emancipation. 'However living,' Rāghavendra says this means whether righteously or unrighteously—the man of knowledge being

sure of final emancipation though he behave unrighteously.

Line 851-2—दृढ (obstinate) S'ankar renders by तन्तुनामर-
दच्छेद्यम्, S'ridhar by विषयवासनानुबन्ध (? क) तथा दुर्मेद्यम्. Rāghavendra
by विषयवासनानुबन्धतया दुर्मेदं स्वरूपविषये नेतुमशक्यम्. Madhusūdan by
विषयवासनासहस्रस्यूनतया नेतुमशक्यम्.

Line 908 *et seq.*—As to this see the note further on
about the three Qualities.

Line 931—'Om' is the well known mystic particle so
variously explained; see too line 1045. Sound, according to
Hindu philosophers, is a function of space (शब्दगुणमाकाशम्).

Line 981—The use of the strength, says S'ankar, is
merely the support of the body &c. S'ridhar says it is the
strength (characterized by the quality of Sattva or Goodness)
for performing one's duty.

Line 988—In the note पदार्थः ought to be preceded by
भावेः. Rāghavendra agrees with S'ankar. Greater than they
means greater than the qualities—superior to and untouched
by them; compare line 1833. As to line 941-2, 'the result of
the qualities' see the note on the Qualities on Chap. XIV.

Line 1007—स्वभाव. The rendering of this word by
'change' is exceptionable, as suggesting a difference between
the Brahma and the Adhyātma which does not seem to be
intended. Brahma in its relations to the body &c. is called
Adhyātma. Rāghavendra explains स्वभाव thus स्वभासी भावश्च
सदैकरूपेण सदैकानर्थेति स्वभावः. The offering is, according to
Rāghavendra, an act of the Deity. As to development
S'ridhar cites आदिदेव्याकृताग्ने कृष्टिः &c. क्षरोभावः might, pos-
sibly, as stated in the note, correspond to स्वभावः (स्वो भावः)
and mean 'perishable form.' This would to a certain extent
agree with Mr. Thomson's view. But the clause does not
come immediately after स्वभासीभ्यस्त्वने—and this makes it

difficult to take that clause in to assist the construction of अरो माः, when an unexceptionable meaning can be derived in another way.

Line 1017—Form—particular form of the Supreme Being. देवनाभिद्योः says S'ankar, and S'ridhar and Madhusūdan follow him. Rāghavendra says एं यमरि मां वदार्थम्. S'ridhar and Madhusūdan agree with this also, by adding भद्रुयमायिण and अन्ययति यत्किञ्चित् after देवनाभिद्योः.

Line 1025—Devotion of repeated thought, is the concentration of mind on one object uninterrupted by thoughts of any other object. Rāghavendra agrees with S'ridhar as to the meaning of योग here.

Line 1037 *et seq.*—Compare Kathopanishad. II. 15.

Line 1045—Compare Manu II. 83.

Line 1061 *et seq.*—Compare Manu I. 73. 'All perceptible things' signifies every thing in the world. 'The unperceived' is the Prakriti. Comp. Gītā IX. 8 (line 1120).

Line 1071—"Which is perceived." This rendering is based on अन्ये व्यक्तित्वान् being not equivalent to अन्यः अभ्यक्तः अभ्यक्तान्, but to अन्यः अभ्यक्तः व्यक्तान्. S'ankar, and S'ridhar, and Madhusūdan also, however adopt the former construction and take अभ्यक्तान् to refer to "the unperceived," (अभ्यक्त) spoken of just before. I find, however, that Rāghavendra has adopted the other view.

Line 1076—As to वाम Rāghavendra agrees with S'ridhar, and though S'ankar renders it by वर, still S'ridhar's is probably the most suitable meaning here.

Line 1106—Not opposed to law = *i. e.* not unrighteous like the S'yen-sacrifice, says S'ankar; that sacrifice being one performed for the purpose of destroying one's foe. Directly knowable *i. e.* like happiness, says S'ankar. Not hard to practise = not hard to acquire, or learn.

Indra the king of the Gods. The Lord of Wealth is Kubera. There are eight Vasus. Meru is the Golden mountain. Brihaspati is the priest of the Gods. Skanda is the War-God. Bhṛigu is one of the seven Rishis. The Aśvattha is the Peepul Tree. Gandharvas are the heavenly choristers.

Line 1304—The perfect ones, S'ankar says, are those who even from birth are possessed of the highest piety, knowledge, indifference to worldly good, and superhuman power (धर्मज्ञानवेदाम्यैश्वर्यविज्ञाय). It would be better, to retain the original word 'Siddhas' here, as in lines 1440 and 1444, reading 'Among the Siddhas, I—Am &c.'

Line 1306—Uchchaishravas is the horse of Indra. Airāvata is his elephant. The thunderbolt is his weapon, the Vajra. Kāmdhenu is the cow of plenty. Vāsuki and Ananta are the chiefs of the snakes and Nāgas. The Nāgas, according to S'rīdhara, are the serpents without poison. Varuṇa is Neptune, the God of the ocean. Yama is King Death. Pralāda is the Abdiel of Hindu mythology, the virtuous demon to save whom Viṣṇu became incarnate as the Man-lion.

Line 1317—Rāghavendra has the following on this somewhat obscure line कल्यणामकलयती बंधनादि कुर्वता वा कालः कल ज्ञान इति धातोः सर्वमाकलयतीति कालः—In the last line of the footnote °को क्षयः must be of course °कोक्षयः. The meaning of S'rīdhara's gloss is that in line 1330, Time absolutely is spoken of; in this line, Time divided into years, months, and so forth.

Line 1320—ययताम् is also rendered by ईयताम् in Rāghavendra's commentary.

Line 1322—Jāhnavī is the Ganges.

Lines 1328-9—As to the letter A, see Introductory Essay p. LV. The Dvandva is selected because, as S'rīdhara points out, all the parts of it are co-ordinate with each other (उभयपदवैषम्यनः). 'I alone am Time Eternal' does not ac-

curately convey the meaning of the original. The meaning is "Eternal Time also is nothing but myself."

Line 1334—गीर्वाणः ईश्वरः खिवः says S'ridhar. It need scarcely be said that Fame &c. are personified here.

Line 1337—The Gāyatri is the metre in which that mystic stanza is composed—वत्सनिर्गुरेण्यम् &c. As to the Mārgas'irsha' month—November–December—see the Introductory Essay P. CXI. The commentators do not explain why Kṛishṇa identifies himself with the "game of dice," among all the practices of "cheats." We can only infer, that it is regarded as the best mode of gaining for one who wants to cheat his opponent. The Vṛishṇis are the family in which Kṛishṇa was born. Uśanas is the preceptor of the Demons, S'akra, one of whose names is Kavi, one who has discernment. The औद्यानस्यवृष्टिर्निति is well-known.

Line 1348—Polity i. e. the due employment of the several modes of dealing with foes, such as trying to make up things amicably, trying to introduce dissensions into the enemy's camp, and so forth. As to silence, Madhusūdan after repeating S'ridhar's explanation गीष्पानां गीष्पदेतुः adds गुप्तानां गीष्पानां मध्ये ससंस्थासंश्रयमननपूर्वकमात्मनो निदिध्यसकलार्थं मौनं चाहमस्मि ॥ The latter interpretation is not quite clear. And to suit the former "amongst secrets" ought perhaps, to be "for secrets."

Line 1357—विभूतिमन् S'ridhar renders by ऐश्वर्ययुक्तम्, भीमन् by संपातिशुक्तम्, and अर्जुनम् by केनापि प्रभाववत्त्वादेना गुणनानिश्चयितम्. Rāghavendra has respectively सज्जनितः श्रेष्ठज्ञेयम्, संस्पृष्टम् and अभिरुद्रगुणेनम्.

Line 1381—The As'vins are the physicians of the Gods.

Line 1441—The Sādhyas are mentioned in Manu I. 23 The Vis'vas are the so-called Vis'vedevs, the Ushmaṇs are the manes. In line 1461, the charioteer's son is Karna.

Line 1507—Compare Manu. I. 11.

Line 1522—Yāday, is descendant of Yadu, one of the sons of Yayāti, a famous king of the Lunar dynasty.

Line 1592-93—Rāghavendra says कूटस्थं कूटे भव्याकृताकाशे अभिमानिनः स्थितं कदापि स्वददन्मृदुनादचलं भुवं निर्जकारम्.

Line 1635—Free from distress. S'ankar renders the original of this, by मनभयः, free from fear; and S'ridhar by आभिज्ञान्यः, free from mental pain; Madhusūdan says परैः स्ताड्यमानस्यापि मया नोत्पन्ना पीडा यस्य सः, one who does not feel pain even when beaten by others; Rāghavendra says परकृतारकारैः रमायमनःशेषः, one who feels no mental pain at injuries done.

Line 1639—शुभाशुभ (good and ill) is rendered by S'ridhar to mean पुण्यपाप, merit and sin. See line 316.

Line 1651—I have thought it better to retain the word Kshetra here than to render it by any inadequate equivalent. S'ankar says:—इतन्नाणालम् (?) यत्स्वरणाद्विषयव्यतिरिक्तमिन्द्रियैः भवम्. S'ridhar इह भोगायनं शरीरं क्षेत्रमित्यभिधीयते संस्कारस्य प्रदीपभूमित्वात्. Madhusūdan, सत्यस्यैवादिमज्जकर्मणः कलस्य निर्वृतेः. Rāghavendra इह शरीरमव्यक्तम-ईकारादिकं भगवदावासस्थानावाक्येन स्थीयते भगवतेन स्मृतात्वा क्षेत्रमित्यभिधीयते. —It may be interesting to transcribe here the opening of Rāghavendra's comment on this Chapter. He says पूर्वद्वयकार्यसंप्रत्ययोप-सम्पन्नः ॥ तथाहि यत्प्रथमपक्षे त्रैगुण्यमित्यत्र वैश इत्यादिना प्राचुर्येण साधनमावृत्तमा-पिच्छं यच्च तच्च द्वितीयपक्षे न विचारमित्यादिना अनादिनित्यतादिना जीवस्य रूपमुक्तं यच्च (Iv in Ms.) द्वितीयपक्षे भगवत्स्वरूपमुक्तं यदपि सप्तमे भूमित्वा इत्यादिना क्षेत्रादित्त्वं भगवदावासस्थानमुक्तं तद्विषयकं (कृष्ट?) यत्पक्षे सर्वं बुद्धगारादर्थं संक्षिप्यादिम-ज्जभाष्ये प्रथमपूर्वं प्रदर्श्यते प्रकृतिमिच्छदिना. These last words refer to the following stanza, with which this Chapter begins in the copy of Rāghavendra, though it is not in our copies.

प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव क्षेत्रं क्षेत्रज्ञमेव च ।

एतद्वैतितुमिच्छामि ज्ञानं क्षेत्रं च क्षेत्रज्ञम् ॥

It may be mentioned that Mr. Thomson refers to this stanza.

Line 1660—उन्मेषोन्मेषः is rendered to mean in each of the Veda by Rāghavendra उन्मेषः is not explained

Line 1663—The ten senses are the five senses of action referred to before, and the five senses of perception, hearing &c. For body, the original is संख्यं which S'ridhar renders by शरीर, S'ankar by देहेन्द्रियणां संघने, and Rāghavendra by देह. For courage, the original is धृति, thus rendered by S'ankar:—यदावसादं मात्मानि देहेन्द्रियाणि भ्रियन्ते, that by which the body and senses are supported when drooping. Hatred, &c. are mentioned here to show that they do not reside in the soul, the Kshetrajna, but in the mind.

Line 1669—Ostentation i. e. of one's own piety and so forth; firmness is strict adherence to the path of final emancipation alone. S'ankar says as to 'perception of the evil &c.', that the evil to be observed in birth is the living in the womb and coming out of it; of old age, the loss of one's intellectual and physical powers. On the alternative interpretation mentioned in the footnote, the meaning would be 'perception of the evil, namely the unhappiness, of birth, death, &c.' S'ridhar's suggestion is also adopted by Rāghavendra. Absence of vanity &c. are included under knowledge as being useful and necessary for its acquisition.

Line 1687—That which is, (सन्) according to Rāghavendra, is the collection of effects (अव्यक्तकर्मिणःकारणम्) that is to say the collection of worldly objects—in fact the created universe. That which is not (असन्) is the great cause of the universe called the Unseen (अव्यक्तकर्मिणःकारणम्). This would mean that the Brahma is neither Prakṛiti nor any of its developments. Rāghavendra also cites the following Smṛiti सूर्वाभूतैः संपूर्णात्मा सत्त्वज्ञासद्वृत्तये. As to 'possessed of all the qualities' &c. compare the Vedic text, 'He sees without eyes, he hears without ears' (यदृश्यवक्षुः स शृणोत्यकर्णः). Rāghavendra proposes another rendering. He says सर्वोपाधिन्द्रियाणि गुणानावर्तयितुं शक्नोति तन्मया तन्मया वा 'Unattached' सर्वसंश्लेषात्

नम् says S'ridhar. 'Their supporter'—this is the rendering of S'ridhar who paraphrases भोक्तृ by पालक. S'ankar says it means वृत्तवन् 'that which perceives'. 'Not different &c.' S'ankar says "It is one in all bodies like space, but it appears ■ if it were different in different creatures." S'ridhar says कारणामनाभिन्नं कार्यस्मिन् विभक्तं भिन्नमिव स्थितं च समुद्राब्जानं केनादि समुद्रादन्यत् भवति—which means that the various manifestations by themselves are different, but considered with reference to their material cause they are all one. Foam is different from ordinary sea water as a different form of water ; but substantially they are one. So different creatures are different when seen as individuals, but they are one when we see that they are all Brahma in their essence.

Line 1703—Knowledge—calling Brahma itself knowledge is rather singular. Rāghavendra says ज्ञानं प्रकाशस्वरूपम्. S'ankar says ज्ञानममानिषादि and Ānandagiri explains that by adding कर्णशुद्धिरूपेति शेषः, so that ज्ञान means not knowledge itself but the absence of vanity &c. by which it is acquired.

Line 1726—S'ankar says 'Meditation means the absorption of all the senses, such as that of hearing &c., into the mind, after their withdrawal from their objects, and the fixing of the mind exclusively on the soul. In themselves means in the बुद्धि, the faculty of fixed resolution; by themselves=by the internal organ polished and refined by meditation. Sāṅkhyayog is the belief that the three Qualities are different from the soul, which is the passive supervisor of their operations, of a different nature from them, and changeless. Karma-yog is performance of action in the belief that it is all offered unto the Supreme Being.'

Line 1745—S'ankar understands this to mean that the man sees everything ■ आत्मा, the supreme soul. Rāghavendra takes 'existing in' as equivalent to 'being supported by',

Madhusūdan agrees with S'ankar, explaining स्थित by कल्पित.

Line 1752—Though all-pervading. The commentators instance the case of mud by which space is never stained. 'All bodies,' S'rīdhara explains to mean good, middling, and bad bodies. Rāghavendra says नीचोच्चोद्वेदे.

Line 1759—Release of beings &c. Rāghavendra says this refers to the abovementioned means of final emancipation by which the soul is released from the elements and from Prakṛiti or Nature; or to the means of final emancipation by which souls are released from the inanimate Prakṛiti.

Line 1760—I had originally intended to treat the subject of the three qualities at some length. But under the circumstances I prefer to make only the following few observations upon it. It is clear enough that the three qualities indicate three different classes of living creatures, the differences being stated at length in this Chapter XIV. What is not so clear is how the combination of these three qualities into a whole in which they are in equilibrium comes to be identified with Prakṛiti (सत्त्वरजस्तमसां सङ्घातस्य प्रकृतिः). According to the view of Prof. Wilson and other writers on the Sāṅkhya Philosophy, Prakṛiti is matter—matter in an undeveloped state. Now in what sense dead matter is identical with Goodness, Badness, and Indifference combined, it is rather difficult to see. On the other hand, if we take matter to be living matter, as containing, to borrow the language of Prof. Tyndall, "the promise and potency of life," the doctrine becomes somewhat more intelligible though still difficult to realize. Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, however, suggests a very different view of Prakṛiti, as he holds that the Sāṅkhya Philosophy is in its essence what, in the terminology of modern English philosophy, would be called Idealism. And according to him, therefore, Prakṛiti is the hypothetical

cause of the soul's feeling itself limited and conditioned. I must refer to Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar's Essay itself for a clear and full exposition of this theory. It does, to a considerable extent, explain the difficulties which arise upon the other hypothesis. And it will be found, I think, that none of the passages in which Prakṛiti is mentioned in the Gītā will present any difficulty of explanation on this theory.

As to the renderings of the three names of the qualities, I need scarcely say, that I do not consider them at all satisfactory. But Goodness and Badness are the usual names for सत्त्व and तमस्; and रजस्, as the middle stage between the two, may, perhaps, be allowably rendered by Indifference. I have borrowed the words from Mr. Thomson with an alteration. Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar renders रजस् by Passion which is a more suggestive rendering. There is also a difference of opinion as to whether गुण here means quality or fetter.

Line 1764—Assume my qualities=Come into my essence ममैवैकत्वमात्मनाः says Sankar. Suffer pain = do not fall down says Sankar; पुनर्नोपपत्तेः says S'ridhar, and on this our footnote is based. The contrast, however, between being born at the creation, and this expression, might, perhaps be held to indicate a different sort of pain than that of further birth, e. g. the pain accompanying a destruction of the world.

Line 1780—Charmed,=being enamoured of anything.

Line 1790—The meaning of this sentence is that each of the qualities produces the effects abovementioned, when the other two are repressed by it and it predominates.

Line 1806—We have given in the footnotes the two senses proposed for the word 'highest.' Rāghavendra takes it to mean Vishṇu, or the Supreme Being.

Line 1809—मूढैर्गोत्रैः, says S'ankar, means among beasts

&c. Rāghavendra says it means among demons &c. कर्मसंक्रियु he says, means among men. In the next line, 'they say' is interpreted by S'ridhar to refer to Kapil and others.

Line 1821—The seer, is इष्ट. Rāghavendra renders it by ज्ञीः, S'ankar by विद्वान्, and S'ridhar by विवेकी. 'That which is above the qualities' is the soul.

Line 1825—इदममुह्यन्त्यन्तमुह्यन्तिनामदेहेषु प्रकटीभूतान् (Rāghavendra). For the other rendering see lines 1718 ■ seq.

Line 1845—After this a line has been omitted which should run thus :—He's said to be beyond the qualities.

Line 1859—'I' here must mean the man Kṛishṇa.

Line 1852—S'ankar thinks that this passage describes संसार or the course of worldly life. With him agree S'ridhar and Madhusūdan. Rāghavendra says it describes the जगत्सङ्घः. A full explanation of the passage must be seen in the various commentaries. We only summarize them :—

As'vattha, Sankar and the other commentators explain to mean 'what will not remain even to-morrow in the same state' (न श्रौचि स्थास्यते). Its roots are above, that is to say the Supreme Being is its root; its boughs are the lesser beings Hiraṇyagarbha &c., (according to some) Mahat, Ahankār and the other great elements (according to others.) The Oḥhandas or Veds are its leaves—to preserve the world as the leaves preserve the tree, says S'ankar. They are the causes of the fruit (salvation, and worldly good) says Rāghavendra, for in this world we find leaves first and fruits afterwards. S'ridhar says that the fruits of acts are the shade of the tree which everybody requires and that is afforded by the Veds. Upwards and downwards—from the highest of created things, as we may say, to the lowest (जलादिस्थायरात्). Here S'ankar seems to render branches by the fruits of knowledge and action. "By the qualities enlarged" ■ explained only by Madhusūdan,

who takes it to refer to the manifestations of the qualities in the form of body, senses, worldly objects &c. Objects of sense are sprouts ■ they are attached to the senses which are as it were the tips of the branches. The roots which extend downwards are the desires for different enjoyments. These are the minor roots, the main root being already described to be the Deity. Here i. e. by those who are living in this world. 'Thus' means as described above. मय्ये which we have rendered 'thinking that one rests,' Rāghavendra takes to stand for मय्येत "one should resort to or take shelter with"—avowedly violating the grammatical construction.

Line 1871—Compare line 1682 as to Adhyātma.

Line 1894—S'ankar thus supplies the ellipses in the thoughts between this line and line 1877. When Kṛishṇa says that one who goes to Viṣṇu's seat never returns, the question arises how can this be when all going is to end in returning (सर्वं हि गतिरगम्यता). The answer is that the individual soul being a part of the supreme soul, it may well go to its fountain-head and never return. Then the difficulty arises how does the soul go at all from its fountain-head. That is obviated by saying that it is the connection with the mind &c. which occasions this. To the next question—when does this occur—the answer is given in the words "whenever the soul &c." Then having stated that this truth is known only to some persons, not to all, he comes back from the digression.

Line 1897—Entering the earth—in the form of the Goddess Earth, say Ānandagiri and Madhusūdan. Support i. e., by keeping the earth from falling down or from crumbling away. One of the moon's names ■ श्रीपञ्च—Lord of herbs. The fourfold food is that which ■ drunk, that which is licked, that which is powdered by means of the teeth, and that which ■ eaten without such powdering.

Line 1904—Reasoning. The original is अवेदन which the commentators unanimously interpret to mean destruction *scil.* of memory and knowledge. But I cannot think that this meaning is quite appropriate. There is nothing suitable to the context in saying that the destruction of knowledge is occasioned by the Supreme Being. On the other hand अविवेक is a common expression for discussion, reasoning *pro* and *con*, and I think we may adopt that meaning here.

Line 1906—The author of the Vedānta. This means, according to S'ankar, the first expositor of the meaning of the Vedāntas (Upanishads, I suppose) current in tradition वेदान्तार्थसंग्रहप्रवर्तक. S'rīdhara agrees; and so does Madhusūdan, adding वेदव्यासादिकेण. Rāghavendra says वेदानामन्तो निर्णयो यस्मात्स वेदान्तः ब्रह्मसत्त्वसंदर्भेस्तस्य व्यासरूपेण कर्तव्यः.

Line 1919—The unconcerned one. S'ankar says पुरुषोक्षर-स्मद्विपरीतो भगवतो मायाशक्तिः क्षरात्मस्य पुरुषस्योत्पत्तिश्चैवमनेकसंसारजन्तुकामकर्म-दिसंस्काराश्रयोक्षरः पुरुष उच्यते. Unconcerned is one rendering of कूटस्थ. It may also mean, according to the commentators, delusive. Madhusūdan says कैचिन् क्षरमात्रेणैवैतन्मममुक्त्वा कूटस्थोक्षर उच्यत इत्यनेन जीवमाहुः ॥ नन्न सम्यक् । क्षेत्रज्ञस्यैवैदं पुरुषोत्तमत्वेन प्रतिपादयन्तात् ॥ नस्मात्क्षराक्षरमा-न्याया कार्यकारणयोगात् उभावपि जडावैशेषिक्येन इत्येव युक्तम्. The two Beings are thus the whole collection of things in the world, and the material cause of them. The Deity is a totally different principle. See S'vetāś'vataropaniṣad p. 294 (Bibl. Ind. Ed.)

Line 1922—सर्वमग्रेण. (Every way) might be taken to mean with all one's heart. That is very nearly the meaning of the corresponding Marāṭhi expression.

Line 1927—Knowledge *i. e.* of the soul by study of the S'āstras; sacrifice is the Dars'apārṇamās &c.; study is study of the Veds. For Renunciation see the next chapter.

Line 1949—Spoken of *scil.* according to Madhusūdan, in the descriptions of the man of steady mind (Chap. II.) the

devotee (Chap. XII.) the man of knowledge (Chap. XIII.) and the man who transcends the Qualities (Chap. XIV.) S'ankar refers to the list at the beginning of the chapter.

Line 1936—No truth = nothing that is entitled to be believed, such as Veds, Purāṇs &c. say S'ridhār and Madhusūdan. Fixed principle = धर्मधर्मव्यवस्थितः say the commentators i. e. no principle based on virtue and vice, according to which the affairs of the world are governed. अद्वयसंभूतम् the commentators interpret this to mean produced by the union of male and female. But it is difficult to be satisfied with this. I have followed the rendering of Mr. Thomson, though it is by no means without its own difficulties. For 'without connexions mutual', Mr. Thomson has "arisen in certain succession." नष्टात्मानः, which we have rendered by "of ruined souls," S'ridhār renders by मलिनमनसाः, of impure mind; and S'ankar and Madhusūdan say नष्टमात्रा विभक्त्यवस्थितः.

Line 1992—Hurl into demoniac wombs i. e. according to the commentators, they are born as tigers, snakes &c.

Line 1997—Ruinous to the soul i. e., according to S'ankar, rendering the soul unfit for any of the highest ends of human beings; according to S'ridhār, leading to birth in a lower order of living beings.

Line 2007—सिद्धि in the Gītā means final emancipation (मोक्ष); or refinement, the being fitted for a higher stage of life.

Line 2020—Yakshas = Kuber &c.; Rakshases = Nirriti &c. Ānandagiri.

Line 2081—Comp. line 1045 and Manu II. 83. By that i. e. the designation, says S'ankar. S'ridhār suggests the alternative 'by the Brahma' which I prefer. For this i. e. for penance, sacrifice &c., or for Brahma (S'ankar.) The connexion of this passage with what goes before is stated by S'ridhār. He says, that as it would appear that all acts of penance &c. are

either bad or indifferent, this passage shows how they may attain the quality of goodness. I must say, however, that I do not understand this passage clearly.

Line 2049—Conditions—the original is कारणानि, causes. On agent (कर्त्ता) S'ridhar has निम्नविहन्निपरकारः—egoism or self-consciousness formed of the union of *chit* and *achit*. Line 2053 refers to those who, not understanding that the soul is not among the five things necessary for action, think it to be the doer of all the acts of a human being (Compare line 445.) The stain on the intellect is the feeling 'I have done this, I shall enjoy the fruit of it' (Line 2037) and so forth.

Line 2215—Desire here means desire for carnal pleasures.

Line 2240—Nature here may be either the great principle प्रकृति or माया, which is made up of the three qualities in equilibrium, or it may mean the respective natures of Brāhmanas &c. In the latter case, the qualities are the causes of the natures. (S'ankar.)

Line 2304—See Kathopanishad II. 6, 17 and S'vetā-s'vatar III., 13.

